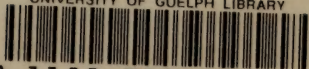


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BOOK OF PERTHSHIRE MEMORABILIA.

BOOK OF TESTIMONY

A BOOK
OF
PERTHSHIRE MEMORABILIA.

BY
ROBERT SCOTT FITTIS,

Author of "Illustrations of the History and Antiquities of Perthshire;" "The Perthshire Antiquarian Miscellany;" "Historical and Traditionary Gleanings Concerning Perthshire;" "Chronicles of Perthshire;" "Sketches of the Olden Times in Perthshire," &c.

We might have sat, as we have often done,
By our fireside, and talk'd whole nights away,
Old times, old friends, and old events recalling;
With many a circumstance, of trivial note,
To memory dear, and of importance grown.

Charles Lamb.

PERTH:
PRINTED AT THE CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICE.
1879.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
I. HISTORY, TRADITIONS, AND RELICS OF ST. FILLAN,	1
II. THE BRAES OF BALQUHIDDER,	24
III. POPERY IN PERTH AFTER THE REFORMATION,	58
IV. "A HAPPY NEW YEAR,"	69
V. THE ASSASSINATION AT THE KIRK OF BLAIR,	91
VI. THE BRIDGE OF PERTH,	112
VII. THE MYLNES, MASTER MASONS,	167
VIII. THE CHRONICLER OF PERTH, AND HIS DESCENDANTS,	178
IX. CASTLE HUNTLY,	189
X. A COVENANTER'S BURIAL,	257
XI. THE "SANG SCHOOL" OF PERTH, AND ITS MASTERS,	268
XII. THE BROOCH OF LORN,	313
XIII. PASSAGES IN THE HISTORY OF THE OLI- PHANTS,	336
XIV. THE FINLARIG CHRISTENING,	403
XV. THE DOMINICAN MONASTERY AT PERTH,	414
XVI. THE "KING'S BISHOP" OF DUNKELD,	482
XVII. SERJEANT MHOR, THE JACOBITE CATERAN,	493
XVIII. KING CRISPIN AND HIS ORDER,	504
XIX. OLD SCOTTISH SAINTS HONOURED IN PERTHSHIRE,	527
XX. A GARLAND OF PERTHSHIRE SONGS,	550

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P R E F A C E.

BEYOND stating that this volume—the sixth of a series devoted to Perthshire History and Antiquities—comprises articles which appeared weekly in the *Perthshire Constitutional and Journal*, from 11th November, 1878, to 24th November, 1879,—nothing need be said except to tender the author's respectful thanks for the continued favour and encouragement which he has met with from a wide circle of readers, and a more select body of subscribers, and also to express a hope that the present book will not be found lacking in permanent interest as compared with any of its predecessors.

PERTH, 1st December, 1879.

A BOOK OF PERTSHIRE MEMORABILIA.

HISTORY, TRADITIONS, AND RELICS OF ST FILLAN.—Part 1st.

Harp of the North ! that mouldering long hast hung
On the witch-elm that shades Saint Fillan's spring,
And down the fitful breeze thy numbers flung,
Till envious ivy did around thee cling,
Muffling with verdant ringlets every string,—
O minstrel harp, still must thine accents sleep?
'Mid rustling leaves and fountains murmuring,
Still must thy sweeter sounds their silence keep,
Nor bid a warrior smile, nor teach a maid to weep?
Lady of the Lake.

OF all the saints in the Scottish Calendar, St Fillan alone is associated with the great vindication of Scottish independence at Bannockburn, whereby his patriotic fame may be said to have eclipsed even that of St Andrew, the patron of the kingdom. The adoption of St Andrew in the capacity of patron took place subsequently to St Fillan's death. It is told that when Achaius, King of the Scots, and Hungus, King of the Picts, marched their allied forces against the Saxons of Lothian, St Andrew appeared to the Pictish Sovereign in a vision of the night, and foretold approaching victory : and two days after, as the hostile armies were about to engage in mortal conflict, a silvery saltire shone out lustrously on the blue sky, and the Saxons were speedily routed with heavy slaughter. From that day of miracle and triumph, St Andrew has been the Scottish tutelary, and his white cross has been one of the national emblems ; but our credulous chroniclers name no other warlike crisis in which his special presence was manifested. In this respect he falls short of his brother apostle, St James, the patron of Spain, whose immediate assistance was now and again vouchsafed to his votaries in their long and chivalrous struggle with

the Moors. The ballads, the legends, and what passes for the sober history of Spain, recount how, on hard-fought battlefields, when the Christian ranks were yielding to the impetuous Moorish valour, a celestial champion, St Jago, clad in shining armour, and mounted on a snow-white steed, was seen bearing down, lance in rest, upon the enemy, who forthwith scattered like chaff before the whirlwind. No such intervention occurs in the most fabulous of Scottish records. But St Fillan—and not St Andrew—has the credit of having inspired Bruce and his soldiers at Bannockburn with the heroic confidence, the indomitable resolution, and the surpassing endurance, which bore them up against the outnumbering masses of the English, and won the day.

The life story of so remarkable a saint deserves to be held in remembrance; but its incidents rest a good deal on traditionary and monkish authority. Who was St Fillan?—whence came he?—what was his era?—and what were the leading features of his career? Like some other famous Scottish saints, he was of Irish blood and birth,—his father being Feradach, a noble, and his mother, Kentigerna, the daughter of a King of Leinster, and sister of St Congan of Turriff and Lochalsh (now Ross-shire.) The period of St Fillan was apparently the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth centuries. His mother was a woman of profound piety, and her son was educated for the church. In due time he received the monastic habit from the hands of St Munna or Mundus, who had been one of the disciples of St Columba, but had returned to Ireland after his master's decease. It was an Irish monastery in which Fillan took the religious vows; and the Hagiologists write that he was so much distinguished by his purity of life and fervent devotion, by his spiritual gifts and graces, that miracles attended him in the sight of the brethren of the convent. The *Breviary of Aberdeen*—which makes him to have been the playmate of angels while yet in his infancy—records that with the view of securing leisure, seclusion, and quiet for

“divine contemplation, he secretly constructed a cell not far from the cloister, in which, on a certain night, while the brethren of the monastery announced by a little servant that supper was ready, the servant kneeling and peeping through a chink in that cell to see what was taking place, saw the blessed Faelanus writing in the dark, with his left hand affording a clear light to his right hand. The servant, wondering at this occurrence, straightway returned to the brethren, and told it. But blessed Faelanus having had this made known to him supernaturally, and being angry with the servant that had revealed his secret, by divine permission a certain crane, which was domesticated in the monastery, pecked out the eye of the servant and blinded him; but the blessed Faelanus, moved with compassion, and at the instance and supplication of the brotherhood, straightway restored the eye of the servant.” This authority goes on to state that “the fame of Faelanus spread on all sides,” and when St Munna gave up the ghost, full of years and holy deeds, Fillan was unanimously chosen Abbot in his room. He ruled the monastery wisely and well, and treated all believers with love and charity—“above all things, with hospitality.”

After some time, Fillan left Ireland, and crossed the sea to Scotland, along with seven serving clerics, and apparently also accompanied by his mother,—his object being to visit his uncle, St Congan, who then abode at Siracht, in the upper part of Glendoechquhy, Glendochart, or rather in Strathfillan, west of Loch Tay. Fillan arrived safely with his little party, and soon set about building a church there in honour of his uncle, the site being “divinely pointed out to him.” Wonderful circumstances followed. “He completely drove away, with his little dog, a most ferocious boar which had devastated the district; and he also converted to the faith of Christ many of the people of that place from the errors of Gentilism and idolatry. While he was building the church in the place which God had shewn him, when the oxen were unyoked from the wains, a

hungry and fierce wolf slew and ate one of them ; and in the morning, when he had no ox to take the place of that which was slain, on pouring forth prayer to God, the same wolf returned as a servant and submitted himself to the yoke with the oxen, and continued to do so till the completion of the church aforesaid, when he returned to his own nature, doing hurt to no one." St Fillan is believed to have founded both a church and a monastery. The mists of many centuries obscure and distort the history of the holy man's labours ; but the fact stands out somewhat distinctly, that he was a member of the earnest - hearted band of Christian teachers who, treading in the footsteps of St Columba, and animated by a like fervency of zeal, spread the knowledge of the Gospel where the thick darkness of heathenism had been brooding. Kentigerna, the mother of Fillan, seems to have accompanied him to Scotland, where she approved herself in all good works, seconding by her example the evangelizing labours of her brother, Congan, and her son. When she could no longer enjoy their society, she retired to Inch-Cailleach—the Isle of Women—in Loch Lomond, and there spent what remained of her days as a recluse. Her devout spirit is said to have taken its flight in 734. Fillan died on the 8th of January, in some year unknown, and was buried in the church which he had built in Strathfillan. Tradition, however, has a story to tell which renders the place of his sepulture dubious. It asserts that he died at Dundurn, near the head of Loch Earn, and thither repaired the people of Killin and Strathfillan to carry his body to the grave. The funeral procession of the great saint of Breadalbane moved through the wild pass of Glen Ogle ; but on its emerging from the defile, a dispute arose as to whether the interment should be at Killin or in Strathfillan. Arguments waxed hot ; angry passions, fierce rivalries, were kindled ; dirks and claymores were drawn, and a bloody contest was impending, when behold ! as the factions turned their eyes, instead of one coffin resting on the ground where it had been set down, there were

now *two*, exactly alike, lying side by side ! This astounding miracle averted at once the threatened strife, and hushed every voice of contention. Without making any investigation as to which of the coffins contained the actual remains of the saint, each party took up one, bore it away, and interred it where they desired; so that to this day it is undetermined whether the body was deposited in Killin or in Strathfillan. Kentigerna, Congan, and Fillan were beatified after death, but not (as is indicated by Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, in the Preface to his *Kalendars*) through “any formal process of canonization. The conditions of sanctity in those early times were uncertain. No formal process, certainly no reference to Rome, was required to put a departed worthy on the roll of the saints. The proofs of holiness, in the technical sense, in addition to piety and blamelessness of life, were miracles, and these proofs were estimated apparently by the voice of the people. A good man died. Signs were believed to be wrought at his tomb, or by his intercession. The multitude flocked to the place, and his claim to sanctity was carried by acclamation.” Honour was paid to Kentigerna’s memory in Inchcailleach; and the parish church of the island was dedicated to her.

Of the history of the early Scottish or Scoto-Irish Church we have but faint glimpses. Culdee it has been denominated; but it was gradually and in the end forcibly overborne by Romish influences, and a new sacerdotal regime rose on its ruins in Scotland. The possessions of the Ancient Church were in many instances secularised. Lay Abbots came in place of the Churchmen. The Abbacy of Dull was thus erected into a temporal lordship under the old ecclesiastical title. Such, too, was the fate of St Fillan’s establishment in Glendochart. According to Mr Skene’s *Celtic Scotland*:—“In one of the laws of King William, called Claremathane, we find the Abbot of Glendochart ranking as a great lord with the Earls of Atholl and Menteith, and sharing with the former the jurisdiction

over the dwellers of the adjacent part of Argyll. And, in 1296, among the barons holding of the Crown who do homage to Edward the First are Malcolm of Glendochart and Patrick of Glendochart, of the county of Perth, who are obviously simple laymen taking their name from the Abbey. But while the lands of the monastery thus passed into the possession of a secular family, the monastery seems, like many others, to have had connected with it a *Dowdall*, or anchorite, to whose descendants, as coar, or heir, of St. Fillan, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with the custody of his pastoral staff, called the *Coygerach*, seems to have fallen. Of this same pastoral staff we shall have much to say in the sequel. Meanwhile, let us note that the *baula*, or pastoral staves of the more remote Scottish saints, were held in high veneration as precious relics during many ages after their owners had mouldered into dust. St. Malcoms, or Molanach, who died about the close of the sixth century, and who gave his name to one of the Fairs of Alyth, left a baoul or walking-stick of yew, which was preserved with superstitious reverence, and was at one time covered with plates of copper, and is now in the possession of the Duke of Argyll. The staff of St. Lolan was also long preserved at Kincardine-on-Forth. In all such cases the staves were held by hereditary keepers, to whom were assigned portions of land. Most of these relics were believed to possess miraculous virtues, and were used for the cure of diseases as well as for other purposes, such as the discovery of stolen goods. It is to be supposed that the *cograch*, *quigron*, or *coomer* of St. Fillan, was but of simple construction, and without any ornamentation, in its original shape. Scant are the traces of it in the period when the monastic establishment of Glendochart was in lay hands; but we may conjecture that while the keeper of the *cograch* bore an ecclesiastical character previous to the secularisation, the office afterwards was wholly secular. The house of St. Fillan was ultimately gifted to the Abbey of Inchochray, of which it became a priory and chapel; and this con-

nection appears to have conduced towards bringing St Fillan into prominence at a grand national crisis.

When King Robert Bruce chose Bannockburn as the spot where he should meet the advancing host of English invaders, he left nothing undone that might fan the flame of patriotic enthusiasm in the breasts of his followers. The services of religion were secured. Maurice, Abbot of Inchaffray, was with the army to offer prayer and perform mass. It was a frequent custom both in Scotland and England to carry holy relics to the battlefield. Thus, St Columba's crozier was borne by the men of Alba, in 918, when they discomfited the Danes, and thence it was named *Cath Bhuiaidh*, or Battle Victory. Bruce held St Fillan in great estimation: and as a relic of the saint—his arm-bone—was kept, in a casket of silver, in the Chapel of Strathfillan, it was ordered to be despatched to Bannockburn that its presence might encourage the soldiers. The casket was brought, and placed in the King's tent; but the priest who had charge of the relic, naturally fearing, as we are told, that, in the event of the Scots being defeated, it might fall into the hands of the enemy, thought meet to leave it behind in the chapel, and took only the empty casket with him, trusting that the fraud would not be discovered. The Sabbath before the battle—the 23rd of June—was spent with much solemnity by the whole Scottish army. In the morning the soldiers heard mass, and made confession: and they kept the day as a fast, their only fare being bread and water. The King made his last circuit of the position to assure himself that all his preparations were in good order: and with the fall of the summer gloaming, he withdrew to his tent, full of care and anxiety, pondering the result of the morrow. No one remained with him but the Strathfillan priest who watched over the casket. "All the night before the battle," says Hector Boece, the historian, "King Robert was right weary, having great solicitude for the weal of his army, and might take no rest, but rolling all jeopardy and chance of fortune in his mind; and sometimes he went

to his devout contemplation, making his orison to God and Saint Fillan, whose arm, as he believed, set in silver, was closed in a case within his pavilion; trusting the better fortune to follow by the same. In the meantime the case chackit to suddenly, but (without) any motion or work of mortal creatures. The priest, astonished by this wonder, went to the altar where the case lay; and when he found the arm in the case, he cried—‘Here is ane great miracle!’—and incontinent he confessed how he brought the toom case in the field, dreading that the relic should be tint in the field, where so great jeopardy appeared. The King, rejoicing of this miracle, passed the remanent night in his prayers with good esperance of victory.” Such is the story as related by Boece; no other writer says a word about it. Next morning—the great day of decision—the Abbot of Inchaffray performed mass on a knoll in front of the army, and then walked along the serried ranks with the crucifix in his hand, encouraging the soldiers to conquer or die. The King, moreover, addressed his troops in a spirit-stirring speech, telling them (if we believe Boece) of the miracle which had been wrought, and that he regarded it as an infallible omen of victory. The battle joined, and the omen held good in the glorious triumph of Scottish freedom. And thus it came that the memory of St Fillan was inseparably conjoined with that of Bannockburn.

Boece, as we have said, is the only historian who mentions the miracle, and on that score, taking into account the mass of fable which he has incorporated with his work, his veracity is sought to be invalidated. Of course, Boece’s history is brimful of romance and legend; but nevertheless we are not to be justified in holding that he deliberately invented much of what he records. He seems to have gathered together a great deal of the traditionary lore of his age; and at that time the story of St Fillan’s arm must have been universally current in the country. If we consider that, after Bannockburn, Bruce is found as a benefactor of St Fillan’s Priory, some basis appears for the alleged

miracle : and the conjecture that a false miracle may have been imposed upon the King carries with it no improbability. Such a thing was easy of accomplishment. At midnight, while Bruce was absorbed in his devotions,—a cresset, burning in the royal pavilion, the silver casket glimmering on the altar, and the attendant priest standing by,—the lid of the case rises silently to receive the bone which had passed through the air from Strathfillan, and then shuts with a sharp click that struck the King's ear. The whole miracle, be it observed, depends on the asseveration of the priest that he had left the relic at home : and a slight, rapid touch of his hand could produce the sound which was necessary to attract Bruce's attention. At all events, in whatever light we regard the legend, this fact, at least, is clear, that at some period following the era of Bannockburn, St Fillan acquired the reputation of having given powerful countenance to the Scottish cause in the greatest of its struggles.

The ancient house and church of the saint in Strathfillan must have been in dilapidated condition at the beginning of the fourteenth century, else there would have been no need for a new foundation by King Robert Bruce. In token, it is said, of the favour shewn him at Bannockburn, the monarch founded a new Priory and Chapel to his patron, in Strathfillan, on the same site as the old—near Auchtertyre, on the north bank of the small streamlet which designates the vale. The Fillan springs from the side of Benlaidh or Benloy, one of the mountains which divide Perthshire from Argyle : and it flows through its strath until it falls into Loch Dochart; but “as Loch Dochart emits at its east end the chief stream by which its superfluent waters are poured into Loch Tay, the Fillan is usually and correctly regarded as the head-water of the magnificent river to which Loch Tay, in discharging eastward its receipt of waters from the west, gives name.” One grant by Bruce to the Priory was of the £5 land of Ochtertyre, near Crieff, now called Quigs : and in 1329, the year of the Monarch's death, the Exchequer Roll

contains an entry of the sum of £20, which was given to Robert Bruce, a natural son of the King, for building the Church of St Fillan:—"Et domino Roberto de Bruys, ad fabricam ecclesie Sancti Felani, xx li." The dues of the churches of Strathfillan, Ardeonaig, and Killin, were at some date bestowed on the Priory, and it had also a portion of lands in Glenlyon. As for the *Cogerach*, its custody, with the corresponding lands, was hereditarily given by King Robert Bruce to a family probably in the descent of the *Deoradh*, or keeper of the relic; and this family came to be surnamed *Jore*, *Deore*, or *Dewar*, from the office; which office, as before stated, was perhaps originally one of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the district; but the term *Dewar* was now applied to any officer who might be the bearer of a crozier, the ringer of a bell, or the hereditary performer of some duty to which lands and perquisites were attached. The lands of Eyich, in Glendochart, are recorded to have pertained in the year 1336 to the Cogerach Dewar. The Cogerach, as it appeared in later times, consisted of the silver-gilt head of the pastoral staff, or shepherd's crook, of a Bishop or mitred Abbot, with decorations in a style not earlier than the fourteenth century. It may have received this ornamentation at the time when Bruce made the grant to the Dewars,—a supposition which is supported by what is said to be the traditional name of the relic—*Cuag-righ*, or *King's Crook*,—though the word *Cogerach* is otherwise rendered "stranger," the application of which is not clear. But we shall more fully describe this relic at a subsequent stage of our labours.

Not only the Cogerach, but other memorials of St Fillan, and places and waters dedicated to him, were invested by popular veneration and superstition with miraculous powers. The belief in such virtues waxed stronger as the centuries rolled on. We have read of the part played by the saint's arm-bone at Bannockburn; but after that eventful day nothing farther is known of it, though doubtless it existed and performed wonders in Boece's day. People came from all quar-

ters to Strathfillan, seeking both bodily and mental relief, and the recovery of lost cattle and household stuff; and their votive offerings must have been an unfailing source of income to the Priory as well as, in lesser degree, to the Dewar. Patients bathed in St Fillan's pool, drank of his well and read prognostics in it, and kept vigils in his chapel. All this resort continued till the Reformation, when we should have expected it to be suppressed. But notwithstanding the light of knowledge and divine truth shed abroad over the land, ignorance and credulity lurked in many of their former strongholds; superstitious usages, partly heathen and partly Christian, were still practised; and, in short, down to a comparatively recent date, numbers of persons repaired to Strathfillan, on certain days of the year, on the old errands, seeking cures for diseased bodies and minds.

*HISTORY, TRADITIONS, AND RELICS OF
ST FILLAN.—Part 2d.*

A virtuous Well, about whose flowery banks
The nimble-footed Fairies dance their rounds
By the pale moonshine, dipping oftentimes
Their stolen children, so to make them free
From dying flesh, and dull mortality.

* * * * *

This holy Well, my grandame that is dead,
Right wise in charms, hath often to me said,
Hath power to change the form of any creature,
Being thrice dipp'd o'er the head.

Beaumont and Fletcher's "Faithful Shepherdess."

IN the year 1428, necessity seems to have arisen that a definite arrangement respecting part of the duties and perquisites of the Jore, Dewar, or keeper of "a certain relic of St Fillan commonly called the *Coygerach*," should be concluded between him and the competent authority of the district in which he dwelt. Accordingly, on the 22d April, an inquest of the men of Glendochart was convened at Kandrochid, under John de Spens, of Perth, Bailie of Glendochart, when it was resolved that the keeper of the relic, Finlay Jore, ought to have yearly from every inhabitant holding a merk of land in the parish half a boll of meal, and so in proportion from other lands; that the office had been conferred on Finlay's ancestor by the successor of St Fillan; that the privileges of said office were enjoyed and in use from the time of King Robert Bruce, and previously; and that if any cattle or goods were stolen from Glendochart, and the owners thereof did not dare to follow after them for recovery, the keeper of the relic should be bound to follow the said stolen property throughout the kingdom, on intimation of the theft being given to him, along with fourpence, or a pair of shoes, and provision for his first night's absence on his journey. This document shews unequivocally that the Cogerach was used in recovering thefts. The office of Jore is again referred to in the minute of a Court of Glendochart,

held at Kandrecht, on the 9th February, 1468, by Margaret de Stirling, lady of Glenurquha. About twenty years later, the Dewar obtained a renewal of the Royal sanction for his office—presumably in consequence of his right to pass through the country in quest of stolen goods having been called in question. King James III. granted a Letter of Gift and Confirmation, dated at Edinburgh, the 6th July, 1487, in favour of Malise Dewar, the keeper; which letter was registered in the Books of Council and Session, in 1734, and is here given (in modernized orthography):—

At Edinburgh, the 1st day of November, 1734, in presence of the Lords of Council and Session, appeared Mr John Lookup, Advocat, as procurator for Malise Doire, after designed, and gave in the Letter of Gift underwritten, desiring the same to be registrat in their lordships' books, as a probative writ; which desire the said Lords found reasonable, and therefore they ordain the same to be done accordingly, conform to Act of Parliament made anent the registration of probative writs, in all points, whereof the tenor follows:

JAMES, by the grace of God, King of Scots, to all and sundry our lieges and subjects, spiritual and temporal, to whose knowledge this our Letter shall come, greeting. Forsameikle as we have understand that our servitor, Malise Doire, and his forbears, has had ane Relic of Saint Fulane called the Quigrith in keeping of us and of our progenitors of most noble mind, whom God assoilzie, since the time of King Robert the Bruce, and of before, and made nane obedience nor answer to na person spiritual nor temporal in onything concerning the said holy Relic otherwise than is contained in the auld infeftments thereof made and granted by our said progenitors: We charge you therefore straitly and commands that in time to come ye and ilk ane of ye readily answer, intend, and obey to the said Malise Doire in the peaceable brooking joicing of the said Relic, and that ye nor nane of ye take upon hand to compel nor distrain him to make obedience nor answer to you nor to any other, but allanerly to us and our successors, according to the said infeftment and foundation of the said Relic, and siclike as was use and wont in the time of our said progenitors of most noble mind of before; And that ye make him nane impediment, lettin; or distroublance in the passing with the said Relic through the country, as he and his forbears was wont to do; And that ye and ilk ane of ye in our name and authority keep him unthralled, but to remain in siclike freedom and liberty of the said Relic likeas is contained in the said infeftment, under all the highest pain and charge that ye and ilk ane of ye may amitt and inrun anent us in that part. Given

under our Privy Seal, at Edinburgh, this 6th day of July,
the year of God 1487 years, and of our reign the 27th year.

JAMES R.

Litera pro Maliseo Doire, commoran' in Strafulane.

The Privy Seal is appended to the principal.

Down to 1818, except during a short period in the reign of Charles II., when the relic seems to have been temporarily transferred to the hands of the Glengarry family,—the Cogerach was kept by the Dewars in its original locality, and continued to be resorted to for its curative properties, which, of course, fell considerably out of repute as education and knowledge progressed in the Highlands, while in modern times its powers in the matter of theft seem to have been rarely brought into requisition. In cases of disease, the crozier was used in two ways—by stroking it on the part affected, or by dipping it in water which was then given to the patient to drink. Cattle as well as mankind participated in its benefits.

The Fillan stream, after a devious course of some six or seven miles from the border of the county, forms a pool among rocks, nearly opposite to the ruins of St Fillan's church and monastery, which are distant about half-a-mile. The pool is limpidly-clear, and perhaps fourteen feet deep. Tradition informs us that St Fillan, in his lifetime, acquired a talismanic stone which cured the diseases of man and beast, and became a blessing to the country; but when the holy man felt that the hour of his departure to "another and a better world" was approaching, he feared or foresaw that after his decease the possession of this precious stone would be contested by his friends, and, therefore, to prevent such strife, he quitted his bed, and proceeding to the pool, threw in the stone, declaring that thenceforth its healing virtues should be transferred to the waters, bathing in which should effect the like cures as had been wrought by the application of the talisman itself. Thus the Pool of Strathfillan was endowed with miraculous qualities, which were manifested in the cure of diseases, and more especially of insanity. It was visited at two seasons in the year—Whitsunday

and Lammas. In cases of bodily ailment, the patient came to the pool at the hour before the setting of the sun, and bathed in the sparkling, pellucid flood,—immersing himself three times over the head, and picking up the like number of pebbles from the bottom. On emerging from the water, he dressed himself, and walked three times *Deasiul*—that is, from east to west, according to the course of the sun—around each of three cairns of stones on the rocky bank, laying one of the three pebbles on each of the cairns, and also making a votive offering thereon of a small piece of his clothing, or a bunch of heather tied with worsted,—this being in lieu of the more valuable offerings made in olden times when the monks of St Fillan were at hand to appropriate them. The patient spent the night in the vicinity, and next morning, before sunrise, scrupulously repeated his immersions, &c., and then went home cured, or at least believing himself in a fair way of recovery.

When the case happened to be one of lunacy, the ceremonial was more complex, with a good deal of harshness. The mad person was brought to the Pool, and bathed either willingly or forcibly, and plunged overhead thrice. He then encircled the cairns in the usual way, and was taken to the neighbouring chapel to pass the night. In a dark corner of the ruins lay a large flat sandstone with a hollow in it sufficient to receive a man's head and neck. This was called *St Fillan's Bed*. The patient was laid down backwards upon the stone, and his head placed in the hollow, and he was firmly tied in that posture with ropes fastened to heavy beams of wood lying beside the stone. In that helpless condition,—in damp, cold, and gloom,—the unhappy wretch was left alone all the night to his own distempered visions and ravings: the belief being that, if cure took place, he would be loosed supernaturally before the morning, and found walking in his right mind. If he was not so loosed, however, he had to undergo further trials. The ancient bell of St Fillan's Chapel, which lay on a gravestone in the churchyard, was solemnly placed inverted on his head;

after which, the bathing in the blessed Pool was renewed, and he was next taken to drink of the waters of a spring, called the *Fuaran dearg*, or Red Well, on the south bank of the river. This well contained some minute aquatic insects, from whose motions or positions a "wise woman" of the neighbourhood drew auguries of good or evil. In fine, if the patient continued unbenefited, the whole ceremonies were repeated on three successive days; and if still no cure was effected, the case was pronounced hopeless, and the lunatic departed to "dree his weird," During the stay of the patients, their friends or attendants baked oaten cakes for their subsistence on a stone among the rocks, called *Clach na'm Bonnach*—the Bannock Stone. The old bell already mentioned possessed, in addition to its powers of ministering to a mind diseased, the singular property that, if it were stolen, it could extricate itself from the hands of the thief, and come home ringing all the way!

When Mr Pennant visited Scotland in 1772, he peregrinated through Strathfillan, and found the Pool in general repute. The saint, he states, "is pleased to take under his protection the disordered in mind; and works wonderful cures, say his votaries, even to this day." Mr Robert Heron, the historian and miscellaneous writer, was in Strathfillan during his Scottish tour of 1792, and mentions in his *Observations* that the Pool was then "esteemed of sovereign virtue in curing madness. About 200 persons, afflicted in this way, are annually brought to try the benefits of its salutary influence,"—a number proving the tenacious hold which superstition still retained on the popular mind in the north. The same author adds:—

Simple and ignorant as these people may be believed to be, they could not have so long persisted in their superstitious practice, if there were not at least a few instances in which it had proved effectual to the cure of the malady for which it is employed. The most intelligent and liberal-minded of the inhabitants of this neighbourhood actually assert, that, by whatever means, cases are oftener than might be imagined effected by the virtues of the Holy Pool. Medicine is indeed well known to owe more of its

beneficent efficacy to the aid of imagination than to the intrinsic virtue of any of its remedies. In the power of imagination especially is the intimacy of the connection between the mind and the body conspicuous. How often has disease been cured,—how often caught in this way? Madness particularly seems to depend in a great measure upon a peculiar state of the imagination. Surprise and sudden exposure to danger have often relieved the distress and restored the alienated mind of the maniac. Shipwreck and voyages on a stormy sea seldom fail of effect. I should, therefore, suppose that old Fillan chose one of the happiest modes that could be devised by which to dispense his miraculous beneficence. The surprise with which the immersion is attended, and the terror of the subsequent bonds, and solitary exposure in the loneliness of the chapel, seem to operate, in a natural way, those cures which are piously ascribed to the benediction of St Fillan, and the supernatural interference of divine providence.

To this passage may be subjoined the brief statement of the Rev. Alexander Stewart, in the *New Statistical Account of Killin*, published in 1843:—"The pool is still visited, not by parishioners, for they have no faith in its virtue, but by people from other and distant localities. We have not heard of any being cured; but the prospect of the ceremony, especially in a cold winter evening, might be a good test for persons pretending insanity." Mr Stewart also says that the bathing of the insane, in former times, "was performed after sunset on the first day of the quarter, o.s., and before sunrise next morning," — thus differing from other authorities, who agree that, of old, the bathing seasons were Whitsun and Lammas, and before sunset and sunrise; but probably he was misled by a modern change.

St Fillan seems to have been one of the patron saints of the ancient church of Killin. One of his two graves was there. Some lands in the parish were owned by the Carthusian Monastery at Perth: and among the documents connected with that monastery's property in Balquhiddy, which are preserved in the Breadalbane Collection, there is a charter by the prior and convent of Charterhouse to Donald M'Laude of a croft of land at Killin, with the house and garden, pasturage of four cows and two horses, with power to bake, brew, and sell fish, and to buy and sell within the Lordship of

Glendochart, according to the assize of the country—paying yearly to the Parish Church of Killin three pounds of wax in honour of the blessed Virgin and St Fillan and All Saints, and for the increase of St Fillan's lights before his image, one pound whereof at the Feast of St Fillan in summer, and another at the Feast of St Fillan in winter, dated the 24th November, 1488. St Fillan's name was also associated with some places in the lowlands. Dysart and Pittenweem claimed him as founder of cells or chapels. Two chapels at Doune were dedicated to him—one within the castle, and one without on the banks of the Teith: and to the castle chapel pertained certain lands and houses at Concraig, in Strathearn, and a manse and garden at the croft of Doune. Moreover, there was an altar to St Fillan in St John's Church of Perth; among the writs of which altaraige are two sasines of property gifted in support thereof: first sasine, dated 26th July, 1511, of the hail lands on the north side of Oliver Young's vennel from the Kirkyard and the Water-gate, on the east and west parts; and second, sasine, dated in 1517, of foreland lying on the north side of the South-gate, at the Meal Vennel end.

The Mill of Killin, standing westward of the village, on the banks of the Dochart, was known as St Fillan's Mill. It was remarkable for an extraordinary peculiarity—namely, that though it went well enough on all the other working days of the year, it never would go on St Fillan's Day, the 9th of January, without some accident or mischief occurring; so that holiday had to be observed on this anniversary; and, as we understand, the holiday is kept to the present time. On a rock near Killin was *St Fillan's Seat*, where he sat and dispensed justice to the people. At the side of it grew an old ash tree, which was held sacred. Nobody would injure it, or even venture to make use of its fallen branches for firewood. One day, however, a careless fellow, in want of a caber or rafter for the cottage which he was building for himself, cut down a stout bough from the saint's tree, and applied it to the

purpose required. The hut was erected, and the owner took possession; but when the first fire was kindled on the hearth, the flame speedily ignited the whole house, which was burned to the ground. At Killin, some half century back, abode an aged crone who had the custody of a number of small round stones, which it was said the saint had blessed for the cure of "all the ills that flesh is heir to." Their benefits were imparted by rubbing: and to preserve their virtue it was necessary that they should be bedded once a year, on St Fillan's Day, in sand and hay or weeds cast ashore from the Dochart. The old woman was prohibited from exacting any fees from her patients, but she was at liberty to accept of voluntary gifts. About the year 1858, Mr John Macgregor, farmer, Ewich, had in his possession what was called an adderstone, or *ovum anguinum*, the size of an egg, and bored at both ends as if at one time it had been mounted with silver or gold. It had been used as a talisman against the evil eye and witchcraft, and the manner of its application was by dipping it in water, and giving the water to drink.

The memory of our Saint has been preserved at Lochearnhead. Somewhat east of the modern village of St Fillans is the conical hill of *Dun Fhavlían*, Fillan's Hill, on the summit of which (so sayeth tradition) was once a spring of water said to have been endued with healing qualities by the saint. It was visited by persons in quest of cures on Beltane (May-day) and Lammas: but after the Reformation, the spring suddenly removed itself down to the low grounds, about a quarter of a mile to the southward, where its miraculous virtues were unabated. It is there to this day. The Rev. Colin Baxter, in the Old Statistical Account of Comrie parish, published in 1794, says that "it is still visited by valetudinary people, especially on the 1st of May and the 1st of August. No fewer than 70 persons visited it in May and August, 1791. The invalids, whether men, women, or children, walk, or are carried, round the well three times, in a direction *Deishal*, that is, from E. to W., according to the

course of the sun. They also drink of the water, and bathe in it. These operations are accounted a certain remedy for various diseases." Farther, "all the invalids throw a white stone on the saint's cairn, and leave behind, as tokens of their confidence and gratitude, some rags of linen or woollen cloth. The rock on the summit of the hill formed, of itself, a chair for the saint, which still remains. Those who complain of rheumatism in the back, must ascend the hill, sit in this chair, then lie down on their back, and be pulled by the legs to the bottom of the hill. This operation is still performed, and reckoned very efficacious. At the foot of the hill, there is a bason, made by the saint, on the top of a large stone, which seldom wants water, even in the greatest drought: and all who are distressed with sore eyes must wash them three times with this water." But such usages have long since ceased. Tradition, it may be added, speaks of a *tooth* of St Fillan having been treasured by the Lenies of Callander.

In the month of July, 1782, Mr William Thomson, M.A., a student of Christ's Church, Oxford, was at Strathfillan, and saw the Cogerach in the house of Malise Dewar, a day-labourer in Killin, who was the lineal descendant of the hereditary keepers of the relic. Mr Thomson sent the following account of it to the Earl of Buchan, Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland:—

At Killin, July 5, 1782, in the house of Malise Doire, I was shown what he called the Quigrich. It is the head of a Crosier, formerly belonging to St Fillan, who gave his name to a neighbouring strath. . . . With it is shewn a copy of the King's letters of appropriation, which I have carefully transcribed. The neighbours conducted me to the envied possessor of this relic, who exhibited it, according to the intent of the royal investment. A youth of nineteen, the representative of his father's name, and presumptive heir to this treasure, lay drooping in an outer apartment, under the last gasp of a consumption. The relic weighs about seven or eight pounds, is of silver gilt, and hollow at one end. On the other end, which is flat, is engraved a crucifix, having a star on each side. An oval crystal is sent in the front of the staff.

The crozier continued in Breadalbane till 1818, when

Alexander Dewar, the next "hereditary keeper," emigrated to Canada, and carried the relic with him to the land of his adoption.

The Saint's Bell remained at Strathfillan till 1798. It usually lay on a gravestone in the Kirkyard. For some time it was kept in a lockfast place to prevent its use for superstitious purposes; but being again exposed in the Burying-Ground, it was purloined, in 1798, by an English traveller, who took it across the Border, and it did not make its escape by an exertion of its fabled powers. It was kept in England till the year 1869 when it was restored to its own country through the efforts of the Earl of Crawford and Bishop Forbes of Brechin: and with the consent of the Heritors and Kirk-session of the parish, it was finally deposited in the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland's National Museum in Edinburgh. The Bell is of cast bronze, square-shaped, and with double-headed dragonesque handle, and stands about a foot high.

Thither also—to the same Museum—came the Cogerach itself in 1877, after a Canadian exile of almost sixty years. Nothing had been heard of it for a long time previous to 1858, when Dr David Wilson, author of *The Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*, formerly secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and now Professor of History in Toronto, fortunately discovered the relic in the possession of the Dewar family in Canada. Nearly other twenty years elapsed, and then Dr Wilson was successful in concluding a bargain with old Alexander Dewar of Plympton, Canada, the keeper, a patriarch of 87, whereby he agreed to transfer the crozier to the National Museum of Scotland. The deed of conveyance of the Cogerach by Alexander, with consent of his son, declared that two-sevenths of the whole sum at which the relic was valued was given by the former "as his contribution or donation towards the acquisition of the said relic, on condition that the Society shall permanently deposit the Quigrich in the National Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland in Edinburgh, and record his name as joint donor of

the relic, while for payment by the Society of the remaining five-sevenths of the price, he grants, transfers, and surrenders to them and their successors, the said Quigrich on trust, to deposit the same in the said National Museum, there to remain in all time coming for the use, benefit, and enjoyment of the Scottish nation." The relic thus acquired was brought to Scotland, and placed in the Edinburgh Museum in the beginning of 1877. In Canada the crozier had been frequently used for curative purposes. Old Dewar stated that people came to him for water in which it had been dipped to administer to cattle. "But," added he, naively, "I never enquired whether it cured the cattle or not."

The Cograch (as described) measures $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the curve. The crook is elaborately ornamented with lozenge-shaped and triangular compartments of beaded work, the intervening spaces being filled with cross-hatching. A ridge or crest rising from the socket is continued over the head of the crook, terminating in front in the head and shoulders of an ecclesiastic, probably representing St Fillan himself. The flattened front of the staff-head below this figure is ornamented by a large oval setting of crystal, and the terminal plate bears a representation of the crucifixion. The work is considered to be not earlier than of the fourteenth century. The Society, on obtaining the crozier, resolved to ascertain whether, as had been long suspected, it contained the arm-bone of St Fillan, which played so memorable a part at Bannockburn; and accordingly they had it opened, when it was found to include an inner crozier of copper, evidently of older date, and ornamented with mello work. This enclosure appeared to have been stripped of the lozenge-shaped plates with which it was ornamented, and these had been used for the covering and enrichment of the second one, so as to form the same patterns and fill similar panels on it. It seemed also that before this second crozier was thus reconstructed the previous one

had lost several of these plaques of filagree work, and in the spaces thus left vacant on the new crozier additional plaques had been introduced, but in a style of art sufficiently different from the others to enable them to be recognised as additions. The probability is that the new covering was added at the time when King Robert Bruce gave the grant to the Dewar family; but the terminal plate containing the representation of the crucifixion was perhaps the latest addition, as it shows two stars, the cognisance of the Murrays, and might have been added by John Murray, who was Prior of Strathfillan, in 1498. At all events, the crozier is an unique specimen of early Celtic art, and as such, as well as being a relic possessing great historial associations, forms a most valuable addition to the Scottish curiosities in the National Museum. In the district of Killin, the relic has been known by two names—1. *Cogerach*, and 2. *Fharaichd*,—the keepers being called *Doirich-na-Fharaichd*.

THE BRAES OF BALQUHIDDER.—Part 1st.

Let us go, lassie, go
To the braes o' Balquhither,
Where the blae-berries grow
'Mang the bonny Highland heather;
Where the deer and the rae,
Lightly bounding together,
Sport the lang simmer day
On the braes o' Balquhither.

Tannahill.

THE BRAES OF BALQUHIDDER—once the haunt of broken men— will be “freshly remembered” in Scottish minstrelsy as long as the artless strains of Tannahill retain the power to charm. But Balquhider has no mean place in Clan history and tradition as well as in national song. It was the later retreat of the Gregalach: it became the abode of Rob Roy, during part of his “life of sturt and strife”: its heathery, blae-berry braes witnessed some of his exploits and hair-breadth escapes: there he died amidst his family: and he was gathered to his kindred dust in the ancient burial-place of the Kirkton. Balquhider—the name of which may refer to its five glens opening upon the Kirkton, or to the position of the village or the parish as “at the back of the country,”— being full of steep hills and traversed by many glens and ravines, was well adapted for the rude ways of living of the cateran. In olden days the low country of this rugged territory was covered with dense woods: and tracts of it between Lochs Doine, Voil, and Lubnaig—these lakes being connected by the small river, Balvaig—were subject to inundation after heavy falls of rain. It was a region inaccessible to all but the Gael: and civilization was late in crossing its boundaries. The marauders of Balquhider, descending from their glens, frequently swept the neighbouring lowlands, leaving empty folds, and sometimes fire and blood behind them, and returning to their fastnesses, laughed to scorn the vengeance

of Sassenach law, which could only issue futile proclamations against them. Clans fought with Clans, the stronger subduing and perhaps expelling the weaker: the might of the sword was esteemed the supreme law: and to pillage the industrious Saxon was esteemed the proof of manliness and bravery. Such, for ages, was the normal state of things in this wild country.

Several septs and branches of septs have inhabited Balquhiddel. There were Maclaurins or Maclarens, Macintyres, Fergusons, Alpinsons, and afterwards Macgregors, and Stewarts of the Appin line. The *Clan Labhrin* or Laurin, said to have migrated from Lorn (the Celtic name of which is Labhrin), seem to have been settled in Balquhiddel at about the earliest period which History or Tradition pretends to reach. It is told that in the final war between the Scots and Picts, the Maclaurins, a powerful tribe, fought under the banner of King Kenneth III., whose gratitude rewarded them with a gift of Balquhiddel and Strathearn. Three brothers of the Clan are said to have thus obtained the lands of Bruach, Auchleskin, and Stank. This is the Highland legend, unconfirmed by a scrap of record: and subsequently, during some centuries, the lamp of tradition fails to shed the faintest gleam of light on the fortunes of Clan Laurin.

Turning into another path of inquiry, we meet with traces of a Christian Saint, who converted and dwelt among the denizens of Balquhiddel. St Angus he was called; but he is entered in no Calendar, Scottish or Roman; and he is unnoticed by the hagiologists. His fame, however, has not died out at this day. It has been surmised, perhaps justly, that he was a disciple of St Columba. That his mission in Balquhiddel was crowned with success appears evidently from the profound veneration in which his memory was held for many generations. Places have been named after him, in commemoration of his holy life and deeds. While the low country was covered with primeval forest, amidst which a few clear spaces intervened like

oases in the desert, one of these was chosen by St Angus as a convenient spot where he might meet with his converts, and teach and confirm them in the faith: and it was his habit to precede and close his discourses with a solemn blessing on his flock. The forest has disappeared; but the place where he taught the people is still known as *Beannach Aonghais*—"the Blessing of Angus." Near the Manse of Balquhiddar an elevation is pointed out on which the Saint often walked in meditation: and near the village Kirkyard, within the last thirty years, were seen the ruins of the *Aorvinn*, or Oratory, to which he used to retire to perform his private devotions. Besides these testimonies to his existence, there was an annual Fair held at the Kirkton of Balquhiddar in the month of April, called *Faill-Aonghais*—"the Market of Angus." When he died, he was interred in the church which he built at the hamlet: and his gravestone,—or what was believed to be his gravestone,—bearing upon it a rudely-sculptured ecclesiastic, pressing with folded hands a cross to his breast, lay before the altar of the church till after the Reformation. The people of the parish had an old custom of kneeling upon this stone when taking the marriage vow: and, in fact, they would not have considered the vow binding unless so taken. When the Romish establishment fell, this custom gave the Reformed ministers a great deal of trouble; but so firmly rooted was it in the popular mind that they had to submit to compromise. They indulged the parishioners so far as to allow of their being married in the church, standing, instead of kneeling, on the stone—a concession which it is remarkable the authority of the General Assembly was not interposed to denounce as "a sinful compliance" with Popery. The stone was not removed out of the church until about a hundred years ago. We may add, in connection with the ecclesiastical history of the parish, that the monks of the Carthusian Monastery at Perth acquired considerable lands lying in Balquhiddar.

The importance of the Clan Laurin in Balquhiddar

may be guessed from the circumstances that they enjoyed the right of burying their chiefs under the tomb stone of St Angus, and the further right of precedence of all the parish in entering the church on Sundays. Until the Maclaurins strode in and took their places, nobody else durst cross the sacred threshold. They are again heard of in war. They had fought under Kenneth against the Picts, according to tradition; and it seems they wielded their claymores at the disastrous Battle of the Standard, which was fought in 1138. On that day, the great Celtic Chief, Malise, Earl of Strathearn—who, disdaining to cover his breast with mail, vaunted before the conflict that he would pierce as far into the English ranks with his unarmoured warriors as the mail-clad knights of the Scottish host—was followed among other tribes by the *Lavernani* whom Lord Hailes identifies as the Clan Laurin. But in that struggle the unarmoured warriors failed to make good the vaunt of their bold leader. Being checked in their charge by the English archers, whose “cloth-yard arrows flew like hail,” they fell into disorder, and, hearing a false shout that their King was slain, they flung away their arms and fled: “and the Scots lost a battle, which if they had won, must have given them a great part of England, and eventually, it may be the whole of that kingdom, distracted as it was with civil war.” Another blank ensues: and then we find the heads of the Clan Laurin swearing allegiance to Edward I. of England after the sun of Scottish independence seemed to have set. Three of the name did so in 1296—all men of note: Maurice of the island of Tiree; Conan of Balquhiddy; and Laurin of Ardveche, in Strathearn; and along with them was Duncan Alphynsone de Auch-tunaghes, or Auchtow, in Balquhiddy. A period of obscurity again occurs: and nothing is said as to what part was borne in the wars of Wallace and Bruce by the Balquhiddy men. That district, which was now becoming known as “the country of the Maclaurins,” was comprehended within the ample bounds of the Earldom of Strathearn, which reverted to the crown

after the Battle of Durham, where fell Earl Maurice of Strathearn: and it has been stated that, upon this transfer, "the Maclaurins were reduced from the condition of proprietors to that of 'kyndly' or perpetual tenants, which they continued to be till 1508, when it was deemed expedient that this Celtic holding should be changed and the lands set in fee, 'for increase of policy and augmentation of the King's rental.'" It may have been so; but, at all events, "kindly tenancy" does not appear to have been a "Celtic holding" at all. We have the authority of Dr Hill Burton that it was on the Borders of Scotland where kindly tenancy chiefly prevailed, and where its natural soil was. "Counting the living on the same holdings from generation to generation as the raw materials whence the tenure was organized, it should have been rifest in the Highlands, but there appear to be *no traces of its existence there.*" The first change of tenure (if there was a change), in the case of the Maclaurins, must have been somewhat different, we suspect, from that above described. But the question is of slight concern, and we leave it as it stands.

Probably some time in the fifteenth century—tradition, our sole guide here, being undecided on the point of date—the Maclaurins of Balquhiddar and the Lenies in the adjacent parish of Callander fought a bloody battle. There had been an old and deep grudge between them, which needed but little to rouse it into warlike feud; and ultimately a paltry squabble set them furiously by the ears. It is supposed that the Lenies were the Buchanans of Leny, whose chief professed to hold his lands by no charter whatever, but by virtue of possessing, first, a large sword with which his ancestor had won them; and, second, one of the teeth of St Fillan; which heirlooms, says the Buchanan historian, the Laird of Auchmar, "were held in such veneration that whoever had those two in possession presumed he had a very good right to that estate;" and certainly there were many others whose presumptions to estates were not one whit better founded. But to our story.

An annual market was held near Callander on the 10th of March. It was called *Faill-ma-chessaig*—the Fair of St. Kessaig—after St Kessog, or Mackessog, an Irish saint, who came to Scotland, and was buried at Luss. He was the patron saint of Callander; and to him was dedicated the church of Auchterarder, which was granted, in 1210, by Gilbert, Earl of Strathearn, to the Abbey of Inchaffray. The stance of the market was near a circular mound adjoining Callander church, called *Tom-na-chessaig*—the hill of St Kessaig. On one occasion, a Clan Laurin man went to this Callander Fair. He was of weak intellect—a natural. Seeing him there, a Leny man, who was carrying a salmon which he had killed on the Teith, thought fit to flout and jeer him, and at length, irritated by a caustic retort, gave him a slap on the side of the head with the fish, and knocked off his bonnet. The *natural* angrily told his assailant that if he came to next St Angus' Fair, at the Kirkton of Balquhiddy, about the end of the following month, he would not dare to repeat the blow; and so they parted. But the Leny man deriding, or perhaps smarting under, the taunt, was foolish enough to repeat it to the next acquaintance he met, and it soon flew like wildfire. It touched the pride of the whole Leny kin, and they could not bear it—fancying that the *natural* would not have said what he did had he not been accustomed at home to hear their courage disparaged. They deliberated upon it, and resolved to march in arms to the Kirkton, on the day named, and there offer battle to the Maclaurins, that it might be decided once for all which were the prettiest men. Meanwhile, the half-witted fellow went his way from Callander market, and forgot all about the affair—at least he said nothing of it on returning to Balquhiddy.

St Angus' Fair arrived, and, as usual, it was numerously attended by all the country-side. Amongst the busy concourse were many of the Clan Gregor, who had now acquired holdings in the district. Every man, as was the invariable custom in those rough days, carried his dirk and claymore; but no one had the slightest

suspicion that hostilities were inevitably impending. To the general surprise, therefore, the Lenies soon appeared in martial array, outnumbering their rivals, who had recently lost a number of men in an encounter with a predatory band from the west. With pipes playing, and *bratach* or banner displayed, the Lenies advanced, confident in their superior strength. The Maclaurins gazed in wonder and doubt, unconscious of having, by word or deed, given cause for this warlike demonstration—although a mutual ill-will had long existed. But the *natural* was present, and recollecting what had chanced to him at Callander, he ran in among his kinsmen, and told the story how he had been abused at Callander, and had dared the Leny man to come and do the like at Balquhidder. The story, and the sight of the enemy, fired his kinsmen's blood. They would make his words good—they would fight. They were fewer than the aggressors; but instantly the slogan of Clan Laurin was raised—*Craig Tuire!*—"the Rock of the Boar!" Drawing their claymores, the Maclaurins made haste and assumed a favourable position in a field on the north side of the Balvaig, and about a mile eastward of the church. The Lenies marched to meet them; and speedily both sides rushed to the encounter. The clash of broadswords and the roar of battle filled the spring air in which larks had been singing. The combatants fought with all the fury which rivalry and hatred inspired; and for a space the issue was dubious; but eventually, the tide of fortune, after wavering to and fro, turned steadily against the Clan Laurin, who gave ground, and, still more hotly pressed, seemed about to be broken into utter rout, when their leader observing a company of the Macgregors near the spot, watching the conflict, called on them for aid—called on them to strike for the honour of Balquhidder. The Gregalich were nothing loth to mingle in the mortal strife; but they sought one stipulation: they would join battle upon condition that henceforth they should share with the Maclaurins the right of first entering the parish church. There was no time to haggle about the

bargain. The broadswords of the Gregalach were of more avail in the hour of defeat than a point of etiquette. The Maclaurins yielded the concession : and the Macgregors fell on, shouting their war-cry of *Ard-coille!* —“The high wood !” And now the son of one of the leading men of Clan Laurin was prostrated by the enemy. Seeing his fall, the father, transported with fury, led back his kinsmen to the fray. The battle mingled deadlier than before. The Lenies were in turn outnumbered. Nothing could withstand the onset of the allies, who bore down all opposition, dealing destruction at every blow. The end—the final catastrophe came soon. The Buchanans were forced back confusedly towards a bend of the Balvaig, where the river falling over rocks in a little cascade, with a musical plash, formed a deep, dark pool below. The allies impetuously drove their disordered foemen to the brink, and hurled them one and all into the pool.

It was a dreadful spectacle of drowning and slaughter. Some of the Lenies grappling together sunk to rise to the surface of the water no more. Those who strove to clamber up the bank over which they had been thrown, were either cloven by the claymores or pushed down again into the abyss. They all perished miserably in the pool, except two who struggled to the southern bank, and took to their heels, horror lending wings to their speed. But they were equally doomed. Several of their foes crossed the river, and followed them like sleuth hounds on the fresh trail of blood: The fugitives fled different ways. One ran along the side of the Balvaig; but scarcely a mile from the fatal pool he was overtaken and remorselessly cut down by a warrior named Gregor Octhar Ard. The other managed to cover double the distance; but was brought to bay at a rock which projects at the mouth of Strathyre, and there he was slain. A cairn still marks the spot where the first man fell : and the place where the other bit the dust has since been known as *Stron Leny*—Leny’s Point. The pool of death, which was choked that day with bodies, is called *Linan-an-Seicachan*—the Linn of

the Corpses. This is the story told by tradition at the present day.

Whether the murderous conflict, which we have just related with all its particularity of horror, happened in the fifteenth century, or earlier or later, remains an undecided question; but there seems to be no doubt that after the middle of the same century specified, the Macclaurins of Balquhiddy sustained a severe defeat in consequence of their having espoused the cause of Dougal, the first Stewart of Appin, who was of kin by his mother's side to their clan. Dougal was natural son to John Stewart, third and last Lord of Lorn and Innermeath. Lord Lorn had by his wife three daughters, but no son. Isabel, the eldest daughter, was married to Colin, first Earl of Argyle; Margaret, the second, became the spouse of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchy and Marion, the youngest, wedded Campbell of Ottar. In default of an heir male, Lord Lorn executed an entail, which was confirmed by a Royal Charter in 1452, whereby his lands and honours should pass to his brothers and their heirs male in succession. But a dame of the race of Maclaurin, whom, it is said, Lord Lorn promised to marry on the death of his lady, bore him a son, Dougal. Such a marriage, had it taken place, would have legitimated the youth, and made him heir of the lands and honours of Lorn and Innermeath. To prevent this consummation, the brothers, it is asserted, assassinated Lord Lorn, and so saved the heritage. At all events, he died about 1469, and his immediate younger brother, Walter, succeeded him, but made a bargain with the Earl of Argyll, exchanging Lorn for lands in Perthshire, and assumed the single title of Lord Innermeath. Dougal was left out in the cold. But his daring, desperate spirit scorned to bend to misfortune. He had a sword in his hand : he had friends. He could say with the hero of an ancient Celtic poem—

In Balquhiddy and Breadalbane,
My friends are numerous found;
Kindly men in bringing aid,
These are my kindred true.

He appealed to his kinsmen of Clan Laurin, and they

eagerly flew to arms and joined him. The Lorn men rose in self-defence, and a battle took place at the foot of wild Bendourain—the Mount of Otters—in Glenurchy, near the western boundaries of Perthshire. It was fiercely contested, and Dougal was worsted—his allies, the Maclaurins suffering severely. But though beaten in his first encounter, Dougal was not subdued. Again and again he assailed his enemies, and at length brought them to a compromise which gave him the lands of Appin. He married a daughter of Macdougall of Nether Lorn, and founded the house of the Appin Stewarts. Subsequently the Maclaurins of Balquhiddar bore part in another lost battle. Loyal to the Scottish crown, they, along with the men of Menteith and Strathearn, followed the standard of King James III. to Sauchieburn, in June, 1488. The king's army was defeated, and in his flight from the fatal field, he was accidentally thrown from the powerful grey horse with which Lord Lindsay of the Byres had presented him, and being carried into Beaton's Mill was there assassinated by a villain in the guise of a priest.

Before the conclusion of the fifteenth century, the Maclaurins involved themselves in hostilities with the Macdonalds of Keppoch. The marauding spirit was strong and active in Balquhiddar as elsewhere in the Highlands; and *creachs* were lifted by the adventurous lads of Clan Laurin as well among the northern hills as in the Lowland straths. Sometime in 1497, a chosen party of the Balquhiddar men arranged to make a foray on the Braes of Lochaber. Off they set in high hopes. They quietly reached the distant scene of operations, and were so far successful in their work as to lift many head of cattle. Driving the booty before them, they turned their faces homewards, proud of their good fortune. But the ravage was speedily discovered, and the Keppoch men gave chase, and soon came up with the spoilers. The latter stood their ground, and gave battle; but were forced to relinquish the cattle, which the victors reclaimed with shouts of triumph. Mortified by so galling a defeat, and panting

for revenge, the Maclaurins retreated into Appin, where they solicited the aid of their hardy kinsman, Dougal Stewart. He sprang to arms at the word, and summoned his following. The Appin men rose, eager for the fray. The combined force marched against the Macdonalds. A second and fiercer contest was the result. The Chief of Keppoch was slain, and his clansmen fled; but Dougal Stewart also fell mortally wounded on the hard-fought field. Appin left two sons, Duncan and Allan. Duncan, the eldest, succeeded his father, and in 1508 obtained a charter under the Privy Seal of certain lands. He was nominated as Royal Chamberlain of the Isles; but the office was distasteful to the Islesmen, and at the first opportunity they took his life. He was succeeded by his brother Allan.

The Maclaurins seem to have remained in peace for a number of years until, in 1513, the war-trumpet sounded over Scotland, summoning the military strength of the kingdom to assemble on the Borough Muir of Edinburgh for the invasion of England. Among the many clans who obeyed the royal summons were the Clan Laurin of Balquhidder and the Stewarts of Appin. The host advanced to the Border, and entered England,—and on a September day, abandoned a strong position in the face of the enemy, and at great disadvantage fought the memorable Battle of Flodden. How the Maclaurins fared on that disastrous field neither history nor tradition can tell.

THE BRAES OF BALQUHIDDER.—Part 2nd.

Ah ! who could think that scenes so fair
E'er trembled to the warrior's tread,
Or that red heather blooming there
Waves o'er the warrior's narrow bed ?

Here Alpine's bands from wild glens stray,
Triumphant wav'd their banner'd pine.
As on they swept on foray fray,
Adown Glen Fruin's deep ravine !

The Raid of Glen Fruin.

It has been seen that the Maclarens' claim of precedence in entering Balquhiddel Kirk on Sundays was shared by them with the Macgregors, as the price of alliance in the conflict with the Lenies. Subsequently, however, the privilege gave rise to so much ill-feeling in the parish that in 1532 a quarrel broke out in the sacred edifice regarding the question; blows were bandied about; and the Vicar of Balquhiddel, Sir John Maclaurin (only a Papal knight) was killed in the broil. Several of his own kinsmen were implicated as originators of the tumult, and were summoned and outlawed.

But other troubles were in store for Clan Laurin. The Macgregors were now numerously settled in Balquhiddel and adjoining country, and became restless and dangerous neighbours. Their evil fortune had begun to darken around them. Powerful enemies, covetous of their possessions, were pressing them on every side—frequently instigating them to deeds of violence with the sinister intent that they might render themselves utterly obnoxious to law and government, and so fall an easy prey. Thus, one way or another, the Gregalich were gradually driven from various tracts in the heart of the Highlands, which had been their own from time immemorial. What they retained they held by the sword; and the constant spoliation to which they were exposed turned them

into Ishmaelites, at war with all the world. Can we wonder that they sought the wild justice of revenge? In the first half of the sixteenth century they had a leader whose ruthlessness was proverbial. This man's hand was unsparing: his nature seemed wolfish: his life was full of savagery and bloodshed. The name of Duncan Laideus or Laudasach grew so terrible that mothers used it as a spell of terror to still refractory children. Wild as his native hills and deserts, he roamed and ravaged far and wide. He might be taken and thrown into dungeons—the deep massymores of Highland keeps; but he regained his freedom fairly or foully, and resumed his unbridled career. Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchay strove to crush him, and with that purpose, on 11th March, 1551, took a Bond of Manrent from James Stewart of Ballindoran and two Drummonds, whereby they bound and obliged themselves “with their whole power, with their kin, friends, and partakers, to invade and pursue to the death Duncan Laudosach Macgregor, Gregor his son, their servants, partakers, and complices, by reason that they are our deadly enemies and our Sovereign Lady's rebels.” In May, 1552, Duncan and his two sons were received under the peace and protection of Glenurchay, upon a Bond of Manrent: but in less than a month—on the 16th of June—Glenurchay sat in judgment on them, and all three were beheaded. Some unknown bard of the Campbell Clan commemorated the freebooter's exploits and misdeeds in a poem, entitled “Duncan Laideus *alias* Macgregor's Testament”—and though there is plenty of spite in the recital, probably very little exaggeration runs through it. Yet Duncan must have come of a good family among the Gregalich; for he first appeared as tutor to the young Chief of Macgregor; but his own recklessness, and the untoward circumstances by which he was environed, transformed him into a ferocious cateran, the scourge of the Highlands. The Clan Laurin had the misfortune to provoke his animosity, and speedily felt the weight of his vengeance. He descended with his band upon Bal-

quhiddel, and, as he is made to confess in the pseudo "Testament," slew 27 of his enemies, in the Passion week of some year unstated:—

———In the Passion week, into Balquhiddel
Seven and twenty we slew into that place,
By fire and sword: they gat na other grace.

This was perhaps the same atrocity with which one of the Gregalich was charged at the bar of the Justiciary Court in Edinburgh, so far on as in 1604. At the trials of various Macgregors for the Raid of Glenfruin, John McCoull Chere, in the Brae of Balquhiddel, was indicted *inter alia* "for art and part of the cruel murder and burning of eighteen householders of the Clanlawren, their wives and bairns; committed forty six year syne, or thereby." This calculation takes us back to about the year 1558; and as Duncan Laideus' execution occurred in 1552, we may not unreasonably suppose that it is his foray, happening perhaps not long before, which is referred to in the trial.

For a number of years after Duncan's death, the Macgregors were repeatedly doomed by the government of Scotland to absolute extermination, like so many vermin: and it is curious to observe that no jot or tittle of palliation was admitted in their defence—such as aggression by other clans. The Macgregors were painted as wholly black and vile—inveterate robbers, sanguinary savages, wild beasts untameable. Now, to our view, such a course of ill-doing as was alleged against them, is simply incredible. They were of the self-same stock as the rest of the highlanders: and the question arises, what could have rendered this one clan so exceptionally barbarous and intolerant of all law and order? And what had been the outcome hitherto of their superlative lawlessness? Was it the acquisition of territory? It was the very reverse. In this quarter and in that they were subjected to continual dispossession; and their chief enemies who plundered and dispossessed them were their traducers and in a great measure their judges. Let us look into a few of the facts. During the reign of Queen Mary, the Scottish

Privy Council sitting at Stirling, on the 22d September, 1563, "understanding that the Clangregor, being her Highness' rebels, and at her horn for divers horrible attempts committed by them, has not only massed themselves in great companies, but also has drawn to them the maist part of the broken men of the haille country, whilks at their pleasure burns and slays the poor lieges of this realm, reives and takes their goods, sorns and oppresses them in sic sort that they are able to lay waste the haille bounds where they haunt, and to bring the same to be inhabitable (uninhabitable), without the hastier remeid be provided therefor"—the Council, we say, understanding all this enormity, nominated various noblemen and barons to expel the said broken men out of their respective bounds, and Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchay was appointed to do so within Breadalbane and Balquhiddar. In a few months a fresh commission appeared requisite and was issued. At Edinburgh, on the 8th January, 1563-4, the Privy Council then understanding that in all parts which the Clangregor did haunt "they are reset by the inhabiters and indwellers thereof, and furnished with victuals and other necessities, and in sic wise fostered and nourished as gif they were the Queen's Majesty's true and faithful subjects, and never had committed crime or offence in any time bygane"—no allegation being added that any victuals or other necessities were *sorned* or taken forcibly from the inhabiters: therefore, commission was granted to Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchay "to pass, search, and seek a manner of persons, dwelling in whatsoever parts or places of this realm, whilks in any time hereafter shall happen to reset any of the said rebels of the surname of Clangregor, or their complices, or to furnish them openly, quietly, or by whatsoever other colour, meat, drink, claithe, armour, or other necessities; and to apprehend and take them, and send them to the Justice or his deputes to underly the law therefor," and immediately to seize and inventory their goods, which, in the event of the owners being found guilty, should be disposed by the said Colin for "the

furnishing of men-of-war, to resist, invade, and pursue the said rebels." Two days afterwards—on the 10th January—the Earl of Athole obtained the exemption of his whole lands and tenants from the scope of this Commission, he obliging himself "to answer for all sic persons dwelling within his bounds, rooms, and possessions, which he shall give in write to the said Laird of Glenurchay, for any attempts committed or to be committed by them." But the desire for exemption soon became general, and a host of complaints poured in against Glenurchay's proceedings.

The Privy Council sat at Perth on the 18th March, 1563-4, and formed a new arrangement, without recalling their previous appointment. They gave a Commission to Archibald, Earl of Argyle, and John, Earl of Athole, empowering them to assemble the military strength of certain districts, including Menteith, Breadalbane, and Balquhiddy, whenever they found cause, to pursue and seize the Macgregors; and for encouraging the lieges so to convocate, it was decreed that any of them so convocating who had actions at law depending before the Lords of Session should have all procedure therein postponed until the 20th May following. But while the Council were thus pottering in the old track, they were perfectly well aware that the country was crying out against the knight of Glenurchay for the manner in which he was acting under his commission. His mode of searching for the Macgregors was a greater public evil than the crimes of the Macgregors themselves. The remedy was worse than the disease, and demanded some notice. Still sitting at Perth, the Council, on the 22d March, bound and obliged Glenurchay, "for himself, his kin, friends, assisters, and partakers passing with him, or in his name and behalf, for pursuit of the Clangregor and others, the Queen's Majesty's rebels, that they nor nane of them should sorn or oppress our Sovereign Lady's lieges dwelling within the bounds of Strathearn, or any other parts of this realm, by any manner of sort, in bodies or goods, in time coming:" and it was

provided that in the event of complaint being made upon Glenurchay's men that he should give the accused up to justice, otherwise he should answer himself "for the same crimes, sornings, oppressions, and offences, to the Queen's Majesty, upon his life and heritage." The very next business before the Council, that day, was a petition from "the Lords, Barons, landed men, gentlemen, and inhabitants of Strathearn, desiring the Commission given and granted by our Sovereign Lady to Colin Campbell of Glenurchay, anent the searching and seeking of the Queen's Majesty's rebels of the surname of the Clangregor and their accomplices, and towards the arresting and inventure-making of their goods, to be discharged—at the least so far as the same can or may be extended towards the inhabitants of Strathearn." The Council did not see their way to cancel the Commission, which would have been the proper course to take; but they desired that "the said Colin shall temperate the extremity of his said Commission, noting only the parties resetters," and so forth. And in the face of these revelations from the Privy Council record, are we still to hold up the Clangregor to unmitigated reprobation, and cordially sympathise with the injured innocence of their enemies? But there is more to tell. The country would not submit to the continuance of this system of searching and inventorying: and at Edinburgh, on 26th August, 1565, the King and Queen (Darnley and Queen Mary) acted as became sovereigns, and recalled the Commission, "whilk Commission," as the Minute bears, "the said Colin has not only utterly abused, but also under colour thereof has by himself and other wicked persons his complices in his name, of his causing, command, assistance, and ratihabition, committed sinsyne divers and sundry sornings, oppressions, berships, spulzies, yea and cruel slaughters, upon divers our said sovereign's lieges, not being rebels; and there through the said Commission is worthy to be discharged and annulled." And annulled it was. Within a few months, the destructive retaliation to which the Macgregors had been driven by the Commis-

sions, was brought under the knowledge of the Privy Council. The whole Lordship of Menteith was represented as being harried and wasted, so that the Royal tenants therein were rendered unable to pay their rents. But the Privy Council did not now resort to fresh violence: they took steps to investigate the matter, and probably granted the petition. The following is all the record :—

Edinburgh, 17 January 1565-6.

Anent the complaint presented by Andrew Shaw of Knockhill, William Shaw his son and apparent heir, James Edmonstoun of Ballintore, James Balfour of Boghall, James Balfour of M'Conestoun, Archibald Edmondstoun, Agnes Shaw, relict of unquhil Alexander Shaw of Cambusmoir, and divers others, their Majesties' tenants and teuars of their proper lands of Menteith, making mention that where the haill lands, bounds, and lordship of Menteith is allutterly herried, wasted, and destroyed by the Clangregor and other evildoers, and in special the lands pertaining to the complainers foresaid, where-through they are unable and may not pay the feu maills thereof unto the time the said lands be occupied, laboured, and manured by tenants as they were of before; requiring therefore command to be given to the Comptroller and Chamberlains to desist and cease fra all craving and up-taking of the maills of the said waste lands, or executing of ony letters against the said complainers therefore unto the time the said lands may be occupied and manured, and they peaceably brook and joise the same, likeas at mair length contained in the said complaint. The Lords of Secret Council ordains letters to be direct to charge the Comptroller, and James Stewart of Doune, Knight, Steward and Chamberlain of Menteith, to compear before the King and Queen's Majesties and their Lordships in Council, upon the sixth day next after the charge, to answer to the said complaints, and to hear and see order taken anent them according to equity and reason, under the pain of rebellion and putting of them to the horn, with certification to them and they fail, letters shall be direct to charge them simpliciter thereto.

This is a striking picture of the dire results of endeavouring to promote the peace of the country by setting one combination of Highlanders to destroy another.

Nothing is heard of the Gregalich's exploits during the troubles which brought about the dethronement of Mary and the elevation of Moray to the Regency; but it appears that the wild sept remained attached to the cause of the Queen. Lennox succeeded Moray, and was followed by Mar, and then came Morton. Three years

after his attainment of power, Morton, finding that "many and divers herships, oppressions, and slaughters" had been committed in the districts of Lennox and Strathearn, issued a Proclamation, on 6th February, 1575-6, ordering a muster of the lieges of the Sherifffdoms of Stirling, Dumbarton, Clackmannan, Stewardry of Strathearn, and within the bounds of Balquhidder, (each man bringing with him ten days' provisions) to act against the marauders, who are not named. What came of this warlike measure we know not. But in two more years, the Regent was compelled publicly to avow the baseness usually perpetrated under cloak of commissions for ridding the land of broken men. The Privy Council, on 18th February, 1577-8, hearing that the Earl of Argyle was about to undertake an expedition professedly against the "troublers of the common quietness of the country," but really and truly "for the pursuit and invasion of Donald M'Angus of Glengarry, and others, his Highness' peaceable and gude subjects," gave authority that "all and sundry our Sovereign Lord's lieges dwelling within the bounds of the earldom of Ross, Murray, lordships of Badenoch and Balquhidder," should rise in arms and assist Glengarry and his friends in their defence against Argyle.

An Act of the Scottish Parliament, passed in 1587, "for the quietness and keeping in obedience of the disordered subjects inhabitants of the Borders, Highlands, and Isles," contains a "Roll of the Clans that has Captains, Chiefs, and Chieftains whom on they depend oft-times against the wills of their Landlords," and among the rest are enumerated—*Stewarts* of Balquhidder; *Clan-gregor*; *Clanlawren*. A farther Act, of 1594, gives a "Roll of the Broken Clans," in which *Clan-gregor* is the first entry, and *Clanlawren* the third, and farther down the list we find the *Stewarts* of Athole, Lorn, and Balquhidder.

But in 1588 the Macgregors were guilty of what Talleyrand would have accounted as worse than a crime—an egregious blunder. For some reason unexplained, they made common cause with the ruffians who assassin-

ated Drummondernoch in the forest of Glenartney. We need not recall the dread scene in the Kirk of Balquhiddy, when the murdered man's head was laid on the altar, and the Macgregors strode past one by one, and each, laying his hand on the bloody "pow," swore to defend the deed and its authors. This mad atrocity horrified the country, and roused the fury of the law against a clan whose inveterate barbarism had now been apparently verified. The Privy Council breathed forth destruction; and the Macgregors' portions of Balquhiddy and vicinity were overrun and desolated. Yet the clan withstood the storm which raged around their Highland fastnesses. Blacker times, however, had to come. The deadliest vial of wrath still remained to be poured out. In the month of February, 1603, the Gregalach defeated the Colquhouns of Luss at the Battle of Glenfruin—a conflict which was provoked by the Colquhouns themselves. This victory brought down upon the Macgregors the most merciless proscription. Their utter extirpation was aimed at. They were dragged to gibbets: they were hunted and slain without any form of law. Their very name was to be stamped out of existence. None durst commune with them in any shape on pain of treason. All over the kingdom the frantic mandates of the law were enforced. In Perth on the 13th June, 1603, the Magistratessent the drum round the town to proclaim an order in his Majesty's name prohibiting the inhabitants from sheltering any of the surname of Macgregor, denounced rebels: and on 14th May, 1604, the Town Council ordered three gibbets to be erected with all diligence at the Brig of Tay Port, the South Port, and the North Inch Port, that they might be ready for execution of such Macgregors as should be found entering the town, or rather to deter them from venturing thither. A very singular case of resetting the Macgregors occurred at Huntingtower near Perth. Three persons, named and designed respectively Colin Bruce, in Middilhauch of Ruthven, Patrick Bruce there, and Alexander Bruce there, were guilty of this crime. They were appre-

hended and brought before the Court of Justiciary, at Edinburgh, on 26th April, 1605, charged with "the treasonable reset, supply, and intercommuning with John Dow Galt Macgregor, John Dow M'Ewen Macgregor, and Gregor M'Ewin, common thieves, traitors, and rebels to his Majesty; and that within their houses in the Middilhauch of Ruthven and divers other places, many and divers times, in the years of God 1603 and 4, after the murder of Glenfruin, and after the said persons were declared rebels and traitors," and after the lieges had been warned not to reset them. The panels proponed no defence, but came in the King's will, which was declared on 6th August following, by amissive to the effect that "the said persons shall be banished the haill bounds of our dominions, during the haill days of their lifetimes, under the pain of death, and to be hanged without further process;" and that they should find caution to the amount of 5000 merks, that they should so depart and never return. Patrick Bruce of Fingask and Mr Alexander Bruce, fiar of Cultmalundie, became cautioners; and we are left to suppose that the parties went into banishment. But after the lapse of nearly thirteen years, Colin Bruce is found in Scotland. On the 18th March, 1618, he appears at the bar of Justiciary, being brought thither from "the Tolbooth or Wardhouse of Edinburgh, wherein he has been warded thir divers months bygone, and presented upon pannel, by direction of the Lords of Secret Council, to hear and see the doom" pronounced upon him for his contravention of the former sentence of banishment. The Justice now "ordained the said Colin Bruce to be banished, as of before, His Highness' haill dominions, and never to be found within the same, under the pain of death, without further favour: likeas, to be returned back again to the said ward by the Magistrates of Edinburgh, to be kept by them therein, in sure firmance and captivity, unto the time a ship be prepared, wherein he may be transported." This case proves clearly the terrible earnestness and persistency of the Government in the proscription of the Gregalich.

This proscription ran its course through many years, filling the land with violence. The Macgregors defended and revenged themselves, defying the utmost power of the law, which shewed itself unequal to the task of subduing them. They kept their old haunts in defiance of attack. About the beginning of 1611, a party of these outlaws held a small isle, called Island Varnak, near the western end and north side of Loch Katrine : and they were charged with "harrying and oppressing of the hail tenants and inhabitants of the country bestial, to the number of eight score kine and oxen, eighteen score sheep and goats, which were eaten and slain by them within the said island." Glenurchay's second son, Robert Campbell of Glenfalloch, whose lands had been wasted by the Clan, besieged the insular retreat with a strong force, but was compelled to break up his camp by a tempest of snow.*

* Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. vi., p. 88; *Statistical Account of Perthshire*, p. 344; Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, vol. ii., p. 738, vol. iii., p. 36; Bishop Forbes' *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*; Innes' *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, p. 355; Duncan Stewart's *Account of the Surname of Stewart*, pp. 170, 192; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 248, 255, 269, 271, 361, 419, vol. ii., pp. 484, 673; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 440, 456, vol. iii., pp. 233, 437; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. iii., pp. 461-467, vol. iv., p. 71.

THE BRAES OF BALQUHIDDER.—Part 3rd.

But, doom'd and devoted by vassal and lord,
Macgregor has still both his heart and his sword.
Macgregor's Gathering.

Rob Roy from the Highlands cam
Unto the Lawland border,
To steal awa a gay ladie
To haud his house in order.

Old Ballad.

THE closing years of the reign of James VI. were marked by a relaxation of the severities authorised by statute against the Macgregors; for the Draconian laws had failed in their purpose. Head-men and others of the clan were admitted to pardon and the King's peace; but some of them soon resumed their wild habits—the propensity to which had become a kind of second-nature. One of these incorrigibles was Robert *Abarach*—so-called because he had been born and bred in Lochaber. He was a noted desperado, and though the Government dealt leniently with him, on promises of better behaviour, he seemed incapable of settling himself down to a quiet life. Fresh proscription was therefore hurled at his head; and at length, being hounded out of every covert, and reduced to the hardest straits, he became the hero of a picturesque scene, one preaching day, in the Fair City. The *Chronicle of Perth* records the incident under date of 26th October, 1624: “Robert Abroche, ane Macgregor, ane great limmer, wha had been ance or twice forgiven and remitted by his Majesty for his oppression, upon hope of amendment, yet he continued still in his knaveries. And after there was muckle searching made for him in the Highlands, and all his friends charged to apprehend, come to Perth this day, being Tuesday, ane preaching day, after sermon, and fell down on his knees, and ane tow about his neck, and offered his sword by the point to the Chancellor of Scotland”—Sir George Hay, afterwards created Earl

of Kinnoull—"wha refused to accept of it, and commanded the Bailies to ward him, likeas they instantly warded him, and put baith his feet on the gad"—a fixed bar of iron across the cell in the Tolbooth, to which the prisoner's feet were chained—"where he remained." What became of him we have not ascertained.

The alleged unruliness and predatory violence of the Gregalich caused the former penalties to be renewed under Charles I. Parliament passed an Act in 1633, declaring "that albeit by the great care of his Highness' umquhile dearest father of eternal memory, the Clan Gregor was suppressed and reduced to quietness, yet of late they are broken forth again to the heavy oppression of many of his Majesty's good subjects, who dwell near to the part where they resort, and specially in the Sherifffdoms of Perth, Stirling, Clackmannan, Menteith, Lennox, Angus, and Mearns:" and therefore for the purpose of suppressing them, "all Acts of Council and Acts of Parliament made and granted heretofore against the said wicked and rebellious Clan of Macgregor," were ratified and approved: and it was enacted that every Macgregor, after attaining sixteen years of age, should appear yearly before the Council and give security for his good behaviour; that no minister, on pain of deprivation, should baptize any male child with the name of Macgregor: and certain sheriffs, stewards, noblemen, and lairds were empowered to do justice upon the Clan. Among these Commissioners was the Laird of Lawers, who seems to have made himself so very active in his duty that the Gregalich vowed vengeance upon him, and one night a party of them broke into his house, dragged him forth, threatening him with instant death, when after much entreaty he induced them to spare his life at the price of 1000 merks, which he promised to pay on the following day. He was accordingly liberated; but when the band returned at the time appointed for their money, the Laird who had collected an armed force, took them all prisoners, and sent them to Edinburgh. It does not

appear that the new Act had much effect in reducing the Clan ; but, what was remarkable, despite the stringent measures which had been put forth against them, they warmly espoused and fought for the royal cause, during the Civil War in Scotland. Their loyalty was rewarded at the Restoration, by the repeal of all the obnoxious statutes, and they were replaced on the same footing, in the eye of the law, with the rest of their countrymen. This change of policy produced no bad effect on the state of the Highlands. The Macgregors did not take advantage of the relief accorded them by breaking out into new outrages. But the interval of favour came to an end—the Clan's steady adherence to the Jacobite interest after the Revolution, combined with the influence of enemies, causing King William's government, in 1693, to revive the Act of 1633, notwithstanding of its having been rescinded in 1661.

We are now in the era of Rob Roy, who, during the lawless and romantic portion of his career, kept a brave stir on the Braes of Balquhiddy. By this time the Clan Laurin were considerably reduced in numbers; and they had been long at variance with the Macgregors, whom they accused of having thrust them out of several holdings—a not unlikely story. In one case, at any rate, which transpired in the latter days of Rob, the Maclarens seemed to have something like a just grievance—so far as the traditionary account goes. The farm of Invernenty, which belonged to Stewart of Appin, was given in tack by him to one of the Maclarens, while it was held by Macgregors, who pleading a sort of prescriptive right to remain as tenants, by virtue of an occupancy extending back through generations, refused to remove, swearing that they would resist to the uttermost. The Maclarens, unable of themselves to cope with the recusants, who were backed by their whole kinsmen in the district, called upon Appin to interpose and vindicate his rights. The Stewarts promptly marched down to Balquhiddy, 200 strong, led by Robert, their Chief, and several

gentlemen of the clan. The Gregalich, hearing of the inroad, assembled in arms under the command of Rob Roy, intent on offering battle. Both bands came in face of each other near the Church of Balquhiddy; but Rob, finding his force inferior to that of the enemy, judged it prudent to call a parley. "Why should two brave Clans, who were firm friends to King James," he said, "fall out about trifles?"—and so he proposed an amicable arrangement of the dispute, rather than risk the arbitrament of the sword. Appin acceded; and after a full hearing of both sides, the Macgregors agreed to deliver over Invernenty farm to the Maclarens. Hands having been shaken on the bargain, Rob Roy said that, seeing so many pretty men drawn up, it would be a pity were they to separate without a sword being drawn in friendly rivalry, and therefore he would offer himself to fight any one of the Appin *dhuinewassels*, with broadsword and target,—the party first drawing blood to be adjudged victor. According to the most reliable account, the challenge was accepted by Charles Stewart of Ardshiel, who, engaging Rob, with great intrepidity, speedily gave him a cut on the right arm, which decided the combat. Rob, who was now stricken in years, acknowledged the superior skill of his antagonist, who, he said, was the first man that had ever drawn his blood; but Ardshiel modestly replied that not his skill but his youth and agility had given him the advantage over so famous a swordsman.

The Maclaren tacksman was peaceably settled in Invernenty; but the grudge which the Macgregors, and especially Rob Roy's wife, bore towards him was bitter and unappeasable. Rob died on the 28th December, 1734, according to an obituary notice in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 9th January, 1735, and was laid to rest in the Kirkyard of Balquhiddy. At his death, his family consisted of five sons—Coll or Colin, Ronald, James, Duncan, and Rob Oig, the youngest or Benjamin of the flock. Rob, in compliment to his patron, the Duke of Argyle, had adopted the surname of *Campbell* (that of

Macgregor being proscribed by law); but having subsequently secured the favour of the Perth family, his sons called themselves *Drummond*. The eldest, Coll, died in the year 1735, at the early age of 31, and was committed to the dust beside his father at Balquhiddier. Unsoftened in heart by the loss of her husband and her son, the outlaw's widow still regarded the Invernenty Maclarens with extreme bitterness, and applied herself to inflame the animosity of her youngest born against them. The tenant of the farm of Wester Invernenty was John Maclaren, who appears to have also held some lands from the Duke of Athole in Balquhiddier. John is asserted, by one of the biographers of Rob Roy, to have exasperated the widow beyond endurance, because "he proposed to turn her out of the farm she possessed by offering a greater rent." Whatever was the reason of offence, he became the chief object of her hatred; and matters reached their crisis in the spring of 1736. Rob Oig, a stripling scarcely out of his teens, was easily acted on by his mother's vengeful incentives and wrought up to the pitch of vowing John Maclaren's death. "I will shoot him," he cried, "as soon as I get my father's gun back from Doune." The gun was in Doune under repair. It was a Spanish-barrelled piece, with the initials R.M.C. (for Robert Macgregor Campbell) inscribed upon it. The weapon came back to Balquhiddier in due time: and Rob Oig went out with it loaded, on Thursday morning, the 4th March, 1736, and accompanied by several clansmen, directed his steps to Invernenty. John Maclaren was out on his land ploughing. Seeing him so engaged young Rob crept forward stealthily, took deliberate aim, and fired. The report startled the echoes of the Braes, and the poor man fell between the stilts of his plough, mortally wounded. The assassin and his friends fled for the moment. The victim was carried home, and a messenger sent to bring the nearest Doctor, who was an old Highlander, named Callum Macinleister. This sage, on appearing, was of little use. He had no other instrument to probe the wound but one which he

extemporized out of a kail-stock; and he protested that he could do nothing in the case because he was ignorant of the kind of shot with which the patient was wounded. The patient died in his hands. Meantime Rob Oig and his followers fell upon the farm-town of Invernenty, and glutted their insensate rage by houghing 37 head of cattle belonging to the Mac-larens. The young murderer returned in triumph to his mother and gratified her ear with the story of slaughter. But the law which he had so wantonly outraged soon made Balquhidder too hot to hold him. The Appin Stewarts, on hearing of the deed, flew to arms, and hastened to seize him and his confederates. Military forces marched into the country for the like purpose. But the wary bird had flown: and the Hue and Cry went out to the following effect:—

March 15, 1736.—That John Maclaren, of Beanchon, in Balquhidder, Perthshire, vassal to his Grace the Duke of Athole, was, on the 4th instant, barbarously murdered by Robert Drummond (*alias* Macgregor), commonly called Robert Oig, son to the deceased Rob Roy Macgregor, by a shot from a gun as he was ploughing, without the least provocation, whereof he instantly died: thereafter, he and others, his accomplices, went to the town of Invernentie, and houghed, mangled, and destroyed 36 stots and a cow, belonging to Malcolm and Donald Maclarens, Drovers. Therefore, who ever shall apprehend the said Robert, so as he may be brought to trial, shall have 20 guineas reward from James Muirhead, at his Coffee House [in Edinburgh]. He is a tall lad, aged about 20, thin, pale-coloured, squint-eyed, brown hair, pockpitted, ill-legged, in-kneed, and broad-footed.

The Right Hon. my Lord Royston has issued warrants for apprehending said Robert and his accomplices.

Moreover, the *Caledonian Mercury* of 22nd April, 1736, announced that Robert Stewart of Appin had offered a “premium” of £50 sterling, to be paid either at his seat of Lettershuna, or at Muirhead’s Coffee House, in Edinburgh, for the apprehension of “Robert Oig, of the tribe of Clan-douil-cheir;” and the description given of Rob’s person is much the same as in the previous advertisement, with some slight variations—he being called “small legged, long and broad-footed,” and with “curly” brown hair.

Before the end of March, Ronald and James, two of the murderer's brothers, and Callum, the kail-stock Leech, were apprehended in Balquhiddy, and brought to trial for complicity in the crime. The evidence adduced, however, was insufficient for inculpation, and they were accordingly acquitted by the Jury on a verdict of "Not Proven;" but Ronald and James Macgregor were ordained to find caution to the amount of £200 to keep the peace for seven years. The actual criminal, Rob Oig, whom his three friends at the bar spoke of as "a daft callant," was outlawed for non-appearance.

The "daft callant" vanished from Balquhiddy, and could nowhere be traced, notwithstanding the diligent search excited by the double reward offered for his arrest. Nothing is known of him for years, until he appeared as a private soldier in the 42d regiment. This national corps was formed out of the old companies of the *Black Watch*, by a warrant of George II., dated 25th October, 1739, and was embodied on the banks of the Tay, under the title of "The Highland Regiment," in the month of May, 1740. The embodiment took place in a field at Boltachan, between Weem and Taybridge. "The regiment," says the official history, "remained on the banks of the Tay and Lyon about fifteen months; it assembled regularly for exercise at Taybridge, and the point of Lyon, about a mile below Taymouth Castle, under Lieut. Colonel Sir Robert Munro, an officer of experience and judgment." After doing duty in the Highlands, the regiment was appointed to proceed to Flanders, and having assembled at Perth, in March, 1743, marched south. It was reviewed, on Finchley Common, by General Wade, and then ordered to embark at Gravesend; but a part of the soldiers mutinied, under an erroneous impression that they should not be sent out of their own country, and 100 men, with their arms and accoutrements, retreated towards Scotland. They were overtaken and brought back, and the regiment sailed for Ostend, and landed there on 1st June. At what time Rob Oig assumed the

red-coat and feathered bonnet is not known. He was in the corps, however, at the battle of Fontenoy, on the 30th April, 1745, when the 42d regiment was brought for the first time into conflict with the French. The British army suffered defeat; but the prowess displayed by the Highlanders on the field became the theme of universal admiration. Rob Oig was wounded in the action and taken prisoner, and he languished in a French prison until he was exchanged. The regiment returned to England in the beginning of November, 1745.

The Rebellion, under the Young Chevalier, was then at its height; but to the gallant 42nd was allotted the duty of defending the Kent coast against an anticipated French invasion.* Rob Oig's brothers and clansmen were in the Jacobite ranks. James Macgregor or Drummond was a bold and intrepid leader of the Gregalich, under the Chief, *Ghlune Dhu*, or Black Knee. At the Battle of Prestonpans, while rushing to the charge, James received five wounds through the body. He fell to the ground; but immediately raising his head on his hand, he exclaimed to his followers—"I am not dead, my lads; and by G——! I'll see if any of you does not do his duty!" His injuries were not mortal; and after Culloden, he returned to Balquhider in a weak condition. Though summoned and attainted for treason, he managed to ensure his safety by entering into a paction with Government for the performance of some secret services: and his brothers likewise were allowed to pass unnoticed. Thus, the sons had not forgotten their father's policy of making friends of both sides. The Macgregors' rivals, the Clan Laurin, joined the standard of Prince Charles, along with the Stewarts of Appin of whom, indeed, they seem for a long time to have formed a part. Maclaren of Invernenty, evidently a relative of Rob Oig's victim, was out with his friends, and was taken captive at Culloden. With some other Jacobite prisoners he was marched for Carlisle, under a guard of soldiers. The party had reached the Border, and while wending one

morning along the edge of the deep den near Moffat, called "the Johnstone's Beef-tub" and "the Devil's Beef-stand" from its having been used, in the old mosstrooping days, for hiding stolen cattle, Invernenty made a desperate dash for liberty. The mist hung thick on the hills, and the prisoner suddenly burst from the ranks, and precipitated himself down the face of the descent. Gaining the bottom without sustaining much hurt, he made for a bog, into which he waded up to the neck, and then put a turf over his head for better concealment; but there was really no need for so much precaution. The soldiers did not venture to pursue, but went on their way without him. He kept his uncomfortable position in the morass until the fall of night, and then emerging, struck across the hills. He reached Balquhiddier, where he lived concealed in female disguise until the Act of Indemnity passed in 1747. The story of his escape at the Beef-tub has been appropriated by Sir Walter Scott in *Redgauntlet*—the adventure being ascribed to Pate-in-Peril, the Laird of Summertrees.

Robert Oig, after returning to England, obtained his discharge from the regiment, and went boldly home to Balquhiddier. No one sought to call him in question for the old assassination; but probably he, too, was included in the secret amnesty procured by his brother, James. All bygones were practically treated as bygones; and the quondam 42d man seemed disposed to turn over a new leaf, and commence an honest and peaceful life. He got married—his bride being a daughter of Graham of Drunkie. But the romance and criminality of his career were not yet wound up. Probably about this time he had a quarrel with some of the Stewarts of Appin, and fought a single combat with Charles Stewart of Edravinnoch. Both were armed with broadsword and target, and the duel ended (like that of Rob Roy and Ardshiel) with Rob Oig being disabled in the sword arm.

The married life of Rob Oig was brief. Unhappily his wife died; and soon afterwards his brothers began to

plan another matrimonial engagement for him—a wealthy match being the object of their cupidity. The year 1750 was now drawing to a close. They looked about, and discovered a prospective partner in the person of a young widowed lady, not twenty years of age, named Jean Key or Wright, heiress of the deceased John Key, portioner of Edenbelly, in the parish of Balfron, Stirlingshire, and relict of John Wright, son of the Laird of Easter Glins. Only two months had elapsed since she lost her husband; and she possessed a fortune, in her own right, of 16,000 or 18,000 merks. She was residing, in December, 1750, along with her mother, in the house of Edenbelly; and Rob Oig's brethren regarding her as a certain prize, suggested to him the scheme of bringing about a marriage with her. It is not said that he was acquainted with the girl; but it was of little consequence: and, indeed, a glance at his description in the Hue and Cry will shew that he was scarcely the sort of Adonis to captivate at first sight the eye of an heiress. A love-match being out of the question, compulsion was the only resource. James Macgregor, who had himself a wife and family, was the ruling spirit of the plot. At the head of an armed band of clansmen, he, along with Rob Oig, and apparently the other brothers, broke into the house of Edenbelly, on the night of the 8th December, and violently carried off the lady, despite her tears and entreaties. They tied her with ropes, and setting her on horseback, conveyed her into the recesses of their wild country, and from haunt to haunt—terrified her into a marriage ceremony with Rob Oig, and kept her in their custody for several weeks. Efforts to rescue her, even with the assistance of the military, were made in vain. Baffled in all their attempts on her behalf, her friends at length took a step which effectually accomplished the end in view. To save her property from falling into the hands of the Macgregors, a petition was presented to the Court of Session, praying that a factor should be appointed upon her estate and effects, with power to apply, out of the

same, what sums might be necessary for recovering her from captivity, and bringing the offenders to justice. The appointment of a factor frustrated the prospects of the Macgregors, and subsequent proceedings induced them to bring her to Edinburgh, where they trusted to concuss her into a formal acknowledgment of the marriage. The poor young creature, overcome by their threats, was, at first, passive in their hands, and stated what she was bidden, but afterwards retracted the declaration which had been given under the influence of terror. She was ultimately placed under the protection of the Court. But her days were brief. She died of the small-pox, as is believed, on the 4th October, 1751.

The law was slack in dealing with the authors of the outrage. James Macgregor was apprehended and indicted for his share in the business. He stood his trial before the Court of Justiciary, at Edinburgh, in July and August, 1752. The jury brought in a verdict finding the panel guilty of forcibly carrying off the lady, but that the compulsory marriage was not proved, the lady having "acquiesced in her condition." Sentence was adjourned till the 20th November; but a day or two previous to that date, the prisoner gave his keepers the slip. He escaped from the Castle of Edinburgh, to which he had been removed for security. While his wife was visiting him in his cell, his daughter came in, disguised as a cobbler, bringing a pair of shoes which had been mending. Both the prisoner and his wife, in the hearing of the sentinels, found great fault with the work, and soon the cobbler made his exit in much confusion, and passed clear of the Castle. But the cobbler was now Macgregor himself. He found shipping for France. His brother Duncan was next brought to the bar, on 15th January, 1753, charged on a similar libel; but proof was defective, and he was acquitted. Lastly came Rob Oig. He had long eluded arrest; but in May, 1753, he was seized near Gartmore by a party of soldiers from the garrison of Inversnaid; and the identical gun with which he shot Maclaren was found in his hands.

His trial took place at Edinburgh, on the 24th December, 1753, when the jury unanimously found him "guilty, art and part, of entering, with other lawless persons, armed, the house of Ediubelly, which belonged to the deceased Jean Key designed in the indictment, in which she and family then dwelt; and in a forcible and hostile manner, within the said house, did attack, invade, and lay violent hands upon the person of the said Jean Key, and did carry her out and away from said house." He was sentenced to be hanged, and he underwent the extreme penalty of the law on the 14th February, 1754.

With the fate of Rob Oig we close these historical and traditionary reminiscences of the Braes of Balquhiddel.*

* *Chronicle of Perth*, p. 26; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. iii., p. 536; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*; Dr Macleay's *Historical Memoirs of Rob Roy and the Clan Macgregor*, pp. 132, 290; Introduction to *Rob Roy*; *Edinburgh Antiquarian Magazine*, p. 47; *Historical Record of the 42d Regiment of Foot*, pp. 28-40; Maclaurin's *Criminal Cases*, pp. 137, 153; *Memoir of Rev. J. Haldane Stewart*: 1857.

POPERY IN PERTH AFTER THE REFORMA-
TION.

Had not yourself begun the weiris,
Your stepills had bene standand yit;
It was the flattering of your Freiris
That ever gart Sanct Francis flit.
Ye grew sa superstitious
In wickitnes,
It gart us grow malicious
Contrair your Mes.

Booke of Gude and Godly Ballates.

"ONE mass," said John Knox from his pulpit in Edinburgh, "is more fearful unto me than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm, of purpose to suppress the holy religion." It was in such spirit that the Scottish Parliament of 1560 passed the enactment "that no manner of person or persons say mass, nor yet hear mass, nor be present thereat, under pain of confiscation of all their goods, moveable and immoveable, and punishing of their bodies at the discretion of the magistrate within whose jurisdiction such persons happen to be apprehended, for the first fault; banishment furth of the realm for the second fault; and justifying to the death for the third fault." This law embodied the absolute antagonism of the Scottish Reformers to the Romish faith and its rites; but the statutory penalties, though hung in *terrorem* over the heads of Roman Catholics within the kingdom, were not inflicted with the virulence which might have been expected at the hands of a triumphant party who had made good their way through great tribulation and suffering. For one thing, although the Protestant principles had gained the ascendancy, several powerful nobles, many of the lesser barons, and a considerable portion of the people in various districts of the country, still remained attached to the ancient creed: and it was thus impossible universally to suppress the exercise of the Romish worship. Its sup-

pression became a matter of time and opportunity. But wherever the Reformers had firm footing, there they proceeded to put down every appearance of Popery. The Mass, whether celebrated in public or private, was rigorously proscribed. The printing-press was shut against all Romish works, and those imported from abroad were seized and destroyed. Such of the monks and friars as did not embrace the Reformed religion were driven to hide themselves in holes and corners. The new rule was rigid and unswerving. Anything savouring of compromise was an abomination. Toleration were scouted by both parties as a malignant heresy. Yet, when we search the annals of the time, we meet with no more than one instance in which the penalty of death was inflicted on a Roman Catholic for contravention of the law against the Mass. Of course, cases occurred of persons being arraigned for profession of their faith, which was considered as so dangerous to the weal of the realm. Some zealots, in May, 1563, attempted to restore their worship in west-country churches : and Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews, attended by a band of armed adherents, held auricular confession in the ruined Abbey of Paisley. The Prelate and others were summoned to trial; but no greater sentence was pronounced against these delinquents than that they should enter themselves in ward—a sentence lenient enough when we remember that the Archbishop had borne a prominent part in the death of Walter Mill, the last martyr before the Reformation. Again, the Privy Council, on 18th September, 1567, hearing that the Bishop of Dunblane had been administering the sacraments, according to his ritual, and “using other unlawful practices and means,” ordained that until he were “tried by order of justice” for his offences, “all and sundry feuars, farmerers, tenants, tacksmen, occupiers, and others whatsoever,” should be astricted or inhibited from “payment of any mailles, farms, teinds, rents, or others whatsoever, pertaining to the Bishopric of Dunblane; that none of them take upon hand to answer, obey, or make payment to the said

Bishop, or any in his name, of the same, under the pain to be reputed and held art and part with him in his wicked deeds and enormities, certifying them if they fail, they shall be compelled to pay the same over again :” and that the said mails, &c., should be meanwhile arrested. But though the hand of the law continued comparatively light in dealing with defaulters, the principle of suppression was strictly maintained. When the Queen’s interest was finally overthrown by the capture of Edinburgh Castle, the factions sought to heal the distractions of the country by what was called the “ Pacification of Perth,” which was compacted in that city on 23d February, 1572-3; but its opening article was an emphatic denunciation of Popery :—

First, that all and whatsomever persons whilk shall claim to enjoy any benefit of this present pacification, and of our Sovereign Lord’s favour and pardon to be granted, shall acknowledge, affirm, and profess the Confession of the Christian faith and true religion of Jesus Christ now publicly preached and professed within this realm, established and authorised by the laws and Acts of Parliament in the first year of our Sovereign Lord’s reign; and shall at the uttermost of their powers maintain, fortify, and assist the true Preachers and Professors of the Word of God, against whatsomever enemies or gainstanders of the same; and namely, against all such, of whatsomever nation, estate, or degree they be of, that has joined and bonded themselves, or has assisted or assists to set furthward and execute the cruel decrees of the Council of Trent—whilk most injuriously is called by the adversaries of God’s truth the Holy League—contrair the preachers and true professors of the Word of God.

And so affairs went on. The ecclesiastical authorities—the Presbyteries and the Kirk-sessions left no stone unturned in their endeavours to root out the very semblance of Popery. Under their auspices, an incessant espionage took note of everything suspicious in the daily walk and conversation of all classes of the community; and as Presbyterian excommunication was followed by civil pains and penalties, few recusants, except men of rank and power, chose to brave the wrath of the Kirk. Over most part of the kingdom, the surface of society became uniformly Protestant;

and a vast majority of the population were sincerely and devotedly wedded to the Protestant faith.

A short retrospect of some proceedings for the suppression of Popery, in the town of Perth, during the half-century after the Reformation, will show the jealous care which was exercised, and will also afford indication of what was done in other places. The Perth Assembly or Kirk-Session proved indefatigably diligent in weeding out the tares from amongst the wheat. There seems, however, to have been very little trouble with the monks who were hounded out of the Monasteries of the Fair City. They generally went over to the Reformed Church. The Prior of the Carmelites, Alexander Young, became the first Presbyterian minister of Tibbermuir. Another Prior—perhaps the Sub-Prior—of the same house, Robert Ritchie, conformed also, married a wife, and received an annuity for his support out of the revenues of his Monastery. We read of a Curate of Perth, who was allowed a portion of his annuals, and who left a daughter: and likewise we find a Black-friar, who had been granted an annuity out of the Dominican rents.

In 1577, the Perth Kirk-Session took formal notice that the Laird of Balhousie, whose ancestors had been benefactors of the religious houses of the town, was not giving due attendance to the ordinances of religion: the inference probably being that he was falling away to Popery. Accordingly, the Session, on 19th August, deputed one of their number to speak to the Laird on the subject, and report his answer. The answer is not recorded; but we may presume that it was satisfactory. About a year afterwards, one of the citizens fell under a similar suspicion. On the 10th November, 1578, Mr John Denite (evidently a clerical person) was called before the Session, and accused of remaining “privately in his house without all exercise of religion,” although he had subscribed the “Articles of Religion”: wherefore the Session commanded these Articles to be delivered to him, and he to give his answer thereupon within fifteen days. But we are left in the dark as to this answer also,

An eminent townsman was brought to trouble for entertaining Roman Catholics in his house. William Fleming, "a man of great plainness and integrity, one of the most popular and respectable citizens in his time" (as an old writer characterises him), and related to the lady of Chancellor Maitland, had done the burgh good service in obtaining from the Parliament of 1587 a Confirmation of the Charter to the Hospital. Hitherto, doubtless, his profession of Protestantism was unimpeachable; but on 4th March, 1587-8, he was called before the Session, and charged with "resetting, giving lodging and entertainment, and convoying of the Laird of Fintry, an enemy of God and religion, an avowed Papist and Jesuit, excommunicate for the same, and common trafficker for the subversion of the true religion, which was against the command of God, and expressly against the rule of His Word, and likewise against the Acts made by the King's Majesty, and Assemblies General and Particular, especially against the Act of our own Assembly (the Kirk-Session) published from the pulpit and Cross of this burgh." The accused answered "that neither for contempt of God nor no good rule, or Act made by the King or Kirk, he did the same, but rather of negligence, because he was in company with the Earl of Huntly, and received with his concurrence; confessing the same to have been an fault, and promises never to do the like in times coming, and in case he be found to contravene the same in times coming, the penalty contained in the Act to strike on him, all excuse being put aside." This humble submission was accepted: and the minister and elders overlooked the fault "in hopes of amendment." So the case ended, and William Fleming was probably more cautious in his hospitality for the future. The Laird of Fintry was Sir David Graham, who was beheaded for treason, at Edinburgh, in 1592-3; and the Earl (afterwards Marquis) of Huntly, had led the band of assassins to the slaughter of the "bonny Earl of Moray."

The summer of 1593 found a considerable number of

Popish gentlemen from different quarters of the country sojourning in Perth. The period was critical. There was general alarm. The plot of the "Spanish Blanks" had been discovered. Jesuits were said to be roaming about. There was a loud cry for steps being taken to trample out the Popish conspiracies which were believed to be hatching. At this unsettled time, it was apparently to concert measures for their own safety and exoneration that so many of the Roman Catholic gentry convened at Perth, which was chosen as being a central place of meeting. But the vigilant Kirk Session soon got up in arms against the idea of their town being turned into a "howf" of the enemy, and on the 23d July issued an ordinance in the following terms:—

Forasmeikle as sundry gentlemen, both mean and great, resort unto this town with their families to dwell here, and make their residence among us, whose behaviour heretofore in other congregations is altogether unknown to us; and seeing that the said gentlemen strangers, this year having residence among us, have absented themselves from hearing the Word preached, to the great contempt of God, to the prejudice of their own salvation, and to the evil example of this congregation; therefore the Minister and Elders statute and ordain that no strangers, mean or great, be suffered to have residence here, except they give a confession of their faith before the Session when it shall be required to them, and resort on the preaching-days to the hearing of the Word, whereby they may be known to be Christians indeed.

Most likely this edict cleared the town of the strangers. The agitation of the country still increasing, the Parliament of July, 1594, passed an Act against the Mass of greater severity than that of 1560:—

Against wilful hearers of Mass.

OUR SOVEREIGN LORD, with advice of his Estates of Parliament, statutes and ordains that in all time coming, all wilful hearers of Mass and concealers of the same, be executed to the death, and their goods and gear escheated to his Highness' use, so soon as they shall be found guilty and convict thereof, or declared fugitive for the same, before the Justice General, or his deputies, or the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council.

By and by we shall find a Perth citizen brought to the bar of Justiciary under this statute.

The Earl of Angus, another Popish noble, having

lodged in the Fair City, in 1596, the Kirk Session, on 15th November, proceeded against his hostesses. "Jean Keir and Beatrix Scott being accused for receiving into lodging the Earl of Angus, an excommunicate Papist, after public advertisement out of pulpit, declared that they knew him not, but were informed by his servant who came to their house that it was the Laird of Glen ———" the Earl being perhaps travelling *incognito* in those dangerous times. The defence, however, would not go down with the Court. It was thought by the Session that the women had known quite well who the Earl was, and knowing so "gave not information to the Ministry," therefore they were ordained, as a warning to all other lodging-keepers, "to make their repentance."

The Earl of Errol had a mansion in Perth at the north-east end of the South Street opposite Gowrie House. He was a Roman Catholic, and had been concerned in the "Spanish Blanks." His Countess, a daughter of William, Earl of Morton, was of the same religion. Their presence in Perth must therefore have proved a sore scandal to the Kirk Session. On the 8th January, 1598-9, a report was made to that Court "that my Lady Errol of contempt absents herself from the hearing of the Word on the Sabbath and on other preaching days; and therefore the Session ordains Constantine Melice, Bailie; Oliver Peebles, Robert Mathew, and John Colt, Elders, to speak to her and try the cause of her absenting herself continually from the preaching of the Word, and if she has no reasonable cause, to desire her to be present in time coming, otherwise the Session will proceed against her with the censures of the Kirk." What followed is not recorded; but we may presume that the Countess dissembled with the deputation and their constituents. Her husband must have practised dissimulation likewise; for, though he lived and died a Roman Catholic, he was favourably reported of to the General Assembly of November, 1602, by Mr Alexander Lindsay, Minister of St Madoes, and afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld. The Earl,

said Mr Lindsay, was an "ordinary hearer of the Word: professed to have no scruples in religion; had provided the churches within his bounds sufficiently; and was ready to communicate in any church where his residence was." Lady Errol, however, gave fresh offence; and on 11th July, 1603, she was reported to the Session as not resorting to hear the Word preached, whereupon Mr William Cowper, minister, afterwards Bishop of Galloway, and two of the elders, were appointed to hold a conference with the recusant Countess.

An old and prominent family in the Fair City was that of the Macbrecks, who possessed considerable property. The Provost of Perth, in 1524, was Alexander M'Breck, of whom it is recorded that he presided in several Sheriff Courts of the burgh when certain culprits were condemned to death. He married Elizabeth Mercer, sister of Robert Mercer of Balleif, who was descended from a younger son of Sir Michael Mercer of Meikleour, grandson of the famous merchant, John Mercer, who was interred in the tomb underneath St John's Church. The representative of the Provost, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, was Archibald M'Breck, a citizen of Perth, and a man of substance, who had his residence in the Watergate, near Gowrie Houee. When the fatal tumult of 5th August, 1600, broke out, Archibald was on the street, and witnessed the scuffle between the Earl of Gowrie and Sir Thomas Erskine, at Gowrie House gate. Archibald was examined, with many other inhabitants, and deponed thus:—

That before any cry given by the King, he saw the Duke (of Lennox), the Earl of Mar, and the Earl of Gowrie standing before the fore yett. Heard ane cry, like to the King's voice. He then saw Sir Thomas Erskine enter in grips with the Earl of Gowrie, where the Earl was ut almost on his knees; whereat the Earl stepped backward almost fornent the defender's house, and there he drew his two swords; but he (the deponent) could not dignosce (recognise) any person that was with him. The deponer in the meantime start in for his sword, and coming forth with his drawn sword and dagger, the Laird of Glenurehy said to him "Where away, and the King in the lodging?" (referring to the law against bearing arms within a certain

distance of the royal person. (Whereat he laid frae him his sword, and stepped down to the place but (without) any weapon. Being interrogated,—“What evil speeches he heard uttered against his Majesty, or his Highness’ servants?”—deponed he heard none, but all crying “How does his Majesty? Let us see his face?” And thereafter heard them cry, “Let see our Provost! How does our Provost?” Heard Alexander Ruthven say—“It can be nae waur nor it is! Let us to the house!” And there-with the deponer departed. Knows na farther.

Not long afterwards; Archibald M’Breck travelled on the continent—probably in the furtherance of business: nay more, he went to Rome, and saw the Pope (Clement VIII.) He seems, indeed, to have been secretly inclined to the Romish faith: and when he returned home, he was pounced upon by the ecclesiastical authorities of the Fair City. The Kirk-Session, on 26th March, 1604, being aware of a general “suspicion that Archibald M’Breck, in his absence out of the country last, has travelled into idolatrous places, and has made desertion from the truth and true religion professed and embraced in this country,” ordained him to be summoned before them that day eight days. The Session met again on 2d April, when Archibald appeared, “who being enquired what was his behaviour the last time he was out of the country, and especially being enquired if he had been in Rome, or received any benefit from the Pope, confessed that in his last being out of the country he resorted to idolatrous places and kirks, and went there to pray to his God; confessed he was in Rome, saw the Pope, but received no benefit from him. The Session remitted him to be tried by the Synodal Assembly to be holden this next week in Perth.” What the Assembly did we know not; but the case soon assumed a blacker aspect. Archibald was much deeper in the dish than had been supposed. It was discovered, obviously through the treachery of servants, that he had attended the celebration of Mass, in the town of Perth itself, early on a morning of the week before Palm Sunday, in that very month of March, on the 26th of which the Session met and ordered him to be summoned! This was a capital crime; and he was

immediately taken in hand by the highest criminal judicatory in the kingdom. When questioned, he confessed his guilt and subscribed the confession with his own hand. The course of justice was rapid. On the 9th May, 1604, Archibald was indicted before the Court of Justiciary on the following libel :—

ARCHIBALD M'BRECK, burges of Perth, ye are indicted and accused; forsameikle as it is statute and ordained by our Sovereign Lord's Acts of Parliament, and specially by an Act of his Highness' fourteenth Parliament, holden and begun at Edinburgh, npon the eighth day of June, the year of God I^m V^c fourscore fourteen years, that in all times coming all wilful hearers of the Mass and concealers of the same shall be execute to the death, and their hail goods and gear escheated to his Highness' use, as they shall be found guilty and convict thereof, or declared fugitive for the same, before the Justice or his deputes, or the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, as the said Act at length bears: and true it is, that Mr Robert Abercrombie, ane Jesuit and priest, in the month of March last bypast, in the week before Palm Sunday last, being reset and lodged, with his man, in the said Archibald's dwelling-house in Perth, ane hail night: the said Mr Robert made the said Archibald foreseen [aware] that he was to say ane Mass upon the morn, early in the morning, in George Bosuall's house in Perth, where my Lord Inchaffray and his family were lodged, and persuaded the said Archibald to come and hear the same: Likeas upon the morn, early in the morning, in ane of the days of the week before Palm Sunday, the said Mr Robert passed first over to the said George Bosuall's house; and the said Archibald followed him, and passed up to the upper easter chamber of the said lodging, where the said Mr Robert Abercrombie said ane Mass: And ye, the said Archibald, wilfully and willingly (being of the true religion before your away-passing furth of this country, and in your absence furth of the same, made defection therefra to Romish religion), heard the said Mass, and received the Communion after the Roman manner, and concealed the saying and hearing thereof till ye was challenged. For the whilk wilful hearing of the said Mass, and concealing thereof, ye, the said Archibald, being convict of the same before the Justice General and his deputes, by Act of Parliament, ye ought to be punished to the death, and your hail moveable goods and gear escheat to our Sovereign Lord's use: to the token, ye have confessed the hail premises to be of verity, by your Deposition, subscribed with your hand; whilk ye cannot deny.

The trial could not occupy much time. The assize or jury, by the mouth of James Nicolson, tailor in Edinburgh, Chancellor, found, pronounced, and declared

the said Archibald to be fyled, culpable, and convicted of the wilful hearing of mass, wittingly and willingly, without compulsion, and concealing of the same till he was challenged, according to the dittay, and according to his confession made thereof in judgment, and depositions produced, subscribed with his hand. No sentence, however, upon this verdict, is recorded in the books; and the likelihood is that application was made to the King, and that the statutory punishment was commuted into a pecuniary fine. At all events Archibald M'Breck did not suffer the extreme penalty of the law: and so Perth was saved the distinction of furnishing a Popish martyr. As for "Lord Inchaffray" (the Commendator of Inchaffray), and Boswell, his Perth host, neither one or other of them is heard of as being libelled for their breach of law. Abercrombie, the priest, too, seems to have escaped further notice.

The only Popish martyr was John Ogilvie, a Jesuit priest, who was tried at Glasgow, on 28th February, 1615, for treason, declining the King's authority, holding the Pope's supremacy, hearing and saying Mass, &c. He was condemned to be hanged and quartered, and the sentence was carried into execution that same day.

One more example of the Perth proceedings against Popery, and we have done. It would appear that the children of Roman Catholics were denied education at the Burgh School. The Kirk Session met on 26th April, 1631, when "compeared Mr John Dorward, Master of the Grammar School of this Burgh, and is ordained by the Session that he suffer nor admit not Sir John Ogilvy of Craig, excommunicate Papist, his two sons to come within the Grammar School, because that their said father will suffer none of his family to come to the Kirk on Sabbath days to God's service: whereupon the said Mr John Dorward promised to obey the said ordinance." Happily the times are changed ! *

* Knox's *History of the Reformation* ; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* ; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*,

“ A HAPPY NEW YEAR.”—Part 1st.

It comes—another year ! the voiceful tower
Proclaims its advent. I could look with tears
Upon the growing burden of the years,
But that a voice of childish joy has power
To scare the thoughtful shadows of the night.
Ah ! well I mind me of the happy time
When I, too, hail'd each New Year with delight—
With shouts that mingled with the midnight chime,
And drown'd with noise the pathos of the hour.

Hedderwick's “ *Lays of Middle Age.*”

FROM time immemorial, New Year's Eve—the last evening of the year,—has been celebrated in Scotland under the name of *Hogmanay*. Notwithstanding the labours of our ablest antiquarian etymologists, the derivation of this term still remains a *questio vexata*. Plausible speculations have been offered, all of which, however, are inconclusive, although respectively supported with great show of erudition. It is argued that the word is traceable to the Chaldee language—*Hag*—a festival, and *Meni*, the numberer—the latter supposed to be a title of the Moon, by whose changes the months were numbered: so that *Hagmeni* was simply the festival of the Moon, as the Queen of Heaven, an object of Chaldee worship, and which form of idolatry was prevalent among the Jews of Jeremiah the Prophet's time: “The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven” (chap. vii., 17–18): “And when we burned incense to the queen of heaven, and poured out drink offerings unto her, did we make her cakes to worship her” (chap. xliv., 15–19). Again, the word *Hogmanay* is said to have had its origin in *Hogmonat*, the Icelandic name of Christmas-day, signifying the time of slaughter for sacrifices; and undoubtedly certain familiar Scottish customs of the time seem

vol. i. p. 569, vol. ii. p. 194 ; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 198, 442, vol. iii. p. 332 ; Minutes of the Perth Kirk-session.

to have originated amongst the worshippers of Odin and Thor and the other gods of Valhalla. Adopting this explanation, the Northmen's cry of *Hoggminne! Thorad oel!*—"Remember your sacrifices! The feast of Thor!"—would be found in the Scottish "Hogmanay! Trollolay!" It has been also attempted to identify Hogmanay with one of the four annual festivals of the Druids, which was held on the eve of the 10th of March, the New Year's day of their reckoning, when they cut down the mistletoe, or "heal-all," from the oak with golden knives or sickles, receiving it reverently in a white linen-cloth. A claim has likewise been put in for an Anglo-Saxon derivation. In that tongue the Elves or Fairies were called *Hogmen*, and the Genii or Evil Spirits, *Trolls*. As it was believed that the Fairies changed their abodes at the end or beginning of each year, while the Trolls chose to appear and exert their malignant powers most frequently at the same season, the people, who regarded the Elves with kindly feelings and the Trolls with the reverse, sought to propitiate the former by crying aloud "*Hogman-aye! Troll-alay!*"—The Elves for ever! and the Trolls to the sea!—that is, they wished the Fairies to abide in their habitations for another year, but devoted the Trolls to the bottom of the ocean. Then, we have a theory which professes to derive Hogmanay from the French. The ancient alliance between France and Scotland introduced a variety of French words into the Scottish language, most of which still survive in the "broad Scotch." According to this last view, which, we must say, has a good deal of probability to recommend it, the term Hogmanay becomes resolvable into a simple corruption of the old French cry at Christmas—"Au gui menez!"—To the mistletoe go! And, indeed, the well-known Scots refrain—

Hogmanay,
Trollolay!

Give us of your white bread, and none of your gray!

seems partly a corruption and partly a literal transla-

tion of what was “said or sung” by the Christmas mummers or maskers in France—

Au gui menez !

Tire—lire !

Maint du blanc, et point du bas !

Finally, Hogmanay inaugurates what the Scottish people call “the daft days,” corresponding to the French *fete de fous*. So much for etymology. We leave the knotty point to the plodding tribe of Dryasdusts, in whose labyrinthine province it lies. Our business just now is to record reminiscences of the reddest letter days in the popular Scottish calendar.

Hogmanay has long been the 31st of December. But the year did not always begin on the 1st of January. In olden times various periods for the commencement of the year were observed in various countries—Christmas-day; the 1st of January; the 25th of March; Easter-day. From the seventh to the thirteenth century Christmas was the English New Year’s day; but the English Church began, in the twelfth century, to reckon the year from the 25th March, which reckoning was adopted by civilians two hundred years after. Although subsequently the historical year was reckoned in England from the 1st January, yet the civil, ecclesiastical, and legal year beginning on 25th March, was continued down to 1752. The French had divers reckonings in their provinces, until in 1563 the beginning of the year was settled at 1st January. When Pope Gregory XIII. reformed the Calendar in 1582, he ordered the year to begin on the 1st January; but several kingdoms did not then adopt the change. In Scotland the legal commencement of the year on 1st January, instead of 25th March, was not settled until December, 1599, when a Royal Proclamation was promulgated at Edinburgh, ordaining the alteration for the sake of uniformity with other nations :—

THE FIRST DAY OF THE YEAR APPOINTED TO BE THE
FIRST DAY OF JANUARY YEARLY.

Apud Holyroodhouse, xvii December, lxxxxix.

The King’s Majesty and Lords of his Secret Council,
understanding that in all other well-governed common-

wealths and countries the first day of the year begins upon the first day of January, commonly called "*New Year's Day*;" and that this realm only is different from all others in the count and reckoning of the years: and his Majesty and Council, willing that there shall be no disconformity betwixt his Majesty his realm and lieges and other neighbours countries in this particular, but that they shall conform themselves to the order and custom observed by all other countries; especially seeing the course and season of the year is most proper and answerable thereto, and that the alteration thereof imports no hurt nor prejudice to any party: Therefore, his Majesty, with advice of the Lords of his Secret Council, statutes and ordains that, in all time coming, the first day of the year shall begin, yearly, upon the first day of January next to come, whilk shall be the first day of the I^m and six hundred year of God: and therefore ordains and commands the Clerks of his Highness' Session and Signet, the Director and Writers to the Chancellory and Privy Seal, and all other Judges, Writers, Notaries, and Clerks, within this realm, that they and every one of them, in all time hereafter, date all their decreets, infestments, charters, sasines, letters, and writs whatsoever, according to this present ordinance; counting the first day of the year from the first day of January yearly; and the first day of the I^m and VI^c year of God from the first day of January next to come, And ordains publication to be made hereof, at the market-crosses of the head burghs of this realm, wherethrough none pretend ignorance of the same.

Scotland, in this respect, took the lead of the sister kingdom; but the Julian, or "Old Style," was retained in the British Islands until abolished, by Act of Parliament, in 1752. We may add, however, that a reformation of the Calendar was attempted in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. On the 15th of March, 1584-5, a Bill for "giving her Majesty authority to alter and new make a Calendar, according to the Calendar used in other countries," was read a first time in the House of Lords, and a second time on the 18th of the same month; but it seems to have made no farther progress, as no other notice of it is found in the record.

Some curious observances connected with the New Year—perhaps vestiges of the ancient Celtic heathenism—were long prevalent in the Highlands. Hogmanay is unknown to the Gaelic. The term *Nollaig*, in that language, is applied both to Christmas and the New Year. But New Year's Day is known as *La*.

Calluinn, and New Year's Night as *Oidhche Challuinn*. During last century, the old fashions were in full sway, and in remote regions continued much later—districts differing in their customs. In some parts, all work was ostentatiously laid aside in the afternoon of the 31st December, and the men of a *clachan* or hamlet repaired to the nearest wood, and cut down a number of juniper-bushes, which they carried home on their backs in preparation for the strange ceremonial of the morrow. Each household also procured a pitcher of water from “the dead and living ford”—that is, the ford in a river by which funerals and passengers usually crossed. This water was brought in perfect silence, and without the vessel being allowed to touch the ground in its progress, as contact with the earth would have neutralised the virtue of the spell involved. At an early hour next morning every dwelling became the scene of singular rites, which were supposed to preserve against witchcraft, the evil eye, and other “devilments” throughout the year then begun. The father, or head of the house, was the first to rise. He kindled the fire, and then, taking the charmed water and a big brush, or “heather range,” treated the rest of the family, who were still a-bed, to a profuse aspersion of the chilly element, which was generally acknowledged with anything but gratitude. What remained of the water was still farther enchanted by being poured over an oval-shaped crystal, or a long-hoarded piece of silver money, and then carried to the byre (which, in most cases, was under the same roof with the cottage), where it was given to the bestial to drink. On returning, the operator heaped part of the juniper-bushes on the hearth, and carefully closing and stuffing the doors, windows, and every *bole*, cranny, or crevice which could admit the slightest breath of air, set fire to the pile. The dense and pungent smoke thence arising speedily reduced the coughing inmates to nearly the point of suffocation. When they were deemed sufficiently “reested in the reek,” the fresh air was admitted, and a stout caulker of whisky, which “had never

seen the gauger," was served round as a restorative. The cattle were next subjected to a similar fumigation, which concluded the painful solemnities of the morning. Of recent times, it was only in certain districts where such-like "cantrips" survived — the bestial alone being favoured with the charmed water and the juniper smoke. But belief in the influence of the evil eye on cows and horses still exists here and there in the north; although, happily, the antidote to this malignant power is well known. The owner of the threatened animal, if it be a cow, has nothing more to do than to offer the suspected person a little of its milk; or, if it be a horse, to name a price, however extravagant, at which he is willing to sell it.

A farcical Hogmanay prank in Coll, one of the Hebrides, had the honour of being noticed by Dr Johnson, in his *Journey to the Western Islands*:—"At New Year's eve, in the castle of the laird, where, at festal seasons, there may be supposed a very numerous company, one man dresses himself in a cow's hide, upon which other men beat with sticks. He runs with all this noise round the house, which all the company quit in a counterfeited fright. The door is then shut. At New Year's eve, there is no great pleasure to be had out-of-doors in the Hebrides. They are sure soon to recover from their terror enough to solicit readmission; which, for the honour of poetry, is not to be obtained but by repeating a verse, with which those that are knowing and provident take care to be furnished.' This wild frolic, with some variation, was common among the Gael of the mainland. On New Year's eve bands of men, one of whom carried a dried cow-hide on his back, went to houses, which they ran round three times *deasiul*, raising a deafening din—beating on the hide with cudgels, and shouting, laughing, and singing appropriate rhymes such as the following (here given in a translation):—

Great good luck to the house,
 Good luck to the family,
 Good luck to every rafter of it,
 And to every worldly thing in it.

Good luck to horses and cattle,
 Good luck to the sheep,
 Good luck to everything,
 And good luck to all your means.

Luck to the goodwife,
 Good luck to the children,
 Good luck to every friend,
 Good fortune and health to all.

This uproarious serenade was designed, it seems, as a spell against fairies, witches, and evil spirits. On the party obtaining admittance into the domicile, they surrounded the fire and singed a part of the hide (the *caisein uchd*, or bit of skin covering the breast-bone), which was then presented to every member of the household to smell,—this being supposed to complete or wind up the charm.

Other Highland usages of the season, observed in our own day, are generally similar to those of the lowlands. Young people stroll about on Hogmanay, singing; whilst their seniors amuse themselves, over brimming bumpers of “mountain dew,” with Ossianic or bardic songs, and *sguelachd*, or fabulous stories, of a class more wonderful and fantastic than the *Arabian Nights*. These stories, which have been handed down orally from one generation to another, for many centuries, serve to refute much of the argument against the authenticity of Ossian, founded on the assumed unlikelihood of long poems being preserved by memory alone during a course of ages. Moreover, besides Hogmanay singing, the practice of first-footing is in high favour. Next day, numerous parties from the clachans contend at the *Camanachd*—shinty, or club-ball—an ancient and popular pastime, better adapted than even “Scotland’s ain game of curling” to warm the blood on a winter day among the snowy hills.

The Highlanders pay special regard to the direction of the wind on New Year’s night, apparently believing that it foreshows the character of the year. Thus, north wind portends cold and storms; east wind, abundance of fruit on the trees; south wind, heat and plenty; west wind, abundance of fish and milk. The

peasantry of the north of England have rhymes of like significance—referring to the New Year's eve :—

If New Year's eve night wind blow south,
It betokeneth warmth and growth ;
If west, much milk, and fish in the sea ;
If north, much cold and storms there will be ;
If east, the trees will bear much fruit ;
If north-east, flee it, man and brute.

Farther, the Highlanders prefer that the first three days of winter should be gloomy, which they reckon as the sign of a good year.

Gloomy, stormy, black,
The first three days of winter ;
Let who will despair of the cattle,
I will not do so till summer.

Prognostications of the weather for each month of the year are also drawn from that of each of the twelve days beginning with the 31st of December. Thus, Hogmanay prefigures the month of January ; New-year's day, February ; 2d January, March ; and so on.

Throughout the lowlands, the sedate and canny Scots keep New-Year-tide with a degree of merry-making that partakes of saturnalian jollity : “the mirth and fun” extending over “the daft days,” which in certain districts of the country include the interval from Hogmanay to Handsel Monday, the first Monday after New-Year. The power of the Kirk, which put down so many of the ancient holidays, was never able to suppress Hogmanay, although there can be little question that certain of the more prominent Yule-tide fashions and frolics were transferred to it after the abolition of Christmas at the Reformation. A Covenanted divine is reported to have stigmatised Hogmanay, in a sermon, by the following definition : “Sirs, do ye know what Hogmanay signifies ? It is—the devil be in the house ; that's the meaning of the Hebrew original.” But his hearers were not to be frightened by etymological terrors ; and from his time to ours Hogmanay and “the daft days” have kept their place. “The daft days” in Auld Reekie, last century, furnished a congenial theme for “Fergusson, the writer chiel's,” manners-painting genius :

Ye browster wives ! now busk ye braw,
 And fling your sorrows far awa';
 Then come and gie's the tither blaw
 O' reaming ale,
 Mair precious than the Well o' Spa,
 Our hearts to heal.

Then, though at odds wi' a' the warl',
 Among oursells we'll never quarrel;
 Though discord gie a canker'd snarl
 To spoil our glee,
 As lang's there's pith into the barrel,
 We'll drink and gree.

Fiddlers ! your pins in temper fix,
 And rozet weel your fiddlesticks,
 But banish vile Italian tricks
 Frae out your quorum;
 Nor fortes wi' pianos mix—
 Gie's Tullochgor !

Let mirth abound; let social cheer
 Invest the dawnin' o' the year;
 Let blythesome innocence appear,
 To crown our joy;
 Nor envy, wi' sarcastic sneer,
 Our bliss destroy.

Early on the last evening of the year, bands of boys go from house to house, in town and country, "singing for carls," as it is called,—the "carls" formerly being oaten three-cornered cakes, baked for the occasion, and distributed along with slices of cheese; but this special baking has now fallen very much into desuetude. The singers are usually dressed with an effort at disguise,—some with blackened faces, and others wearing high-coloured pasteboard masks, or "fause faces," of which, for weeks previous, shop-windows in the towns and villages present grotesque displays. In Scotland, this masking at Hogmanay is termed "guizing," and the maskers or singing parties are "guizards." As the poet of the *British Georgics* says:—

With smutted visages, from house to house,
 In country and in town, the guisarts range,
 And sing their madrigals, though coarse and rude,
 With willing glee that penetrates the heart.
 O ! it delights my heart, that unstained joy
 Of thoughtless boyhood. Spurn you from my door !—
 No, no, rush freely in, and share my fire,
 And sing through all your roll of jovial lilt.

Guizing, masking, or mumming at this season was an old and exceedingly popular pastime. King, noble, and peasant enjoyed it at Yule and New Year. The Lord Treasurer of Scotland enters in his accounts, under date, 28th December, 1534, the expense of "Play gowns," in which James V., who was then at Stirling, went a-masking with some of his train :—

1534, Dec. 28. <i>Item</i> , to certain Play gowns to the King's grace to pass in masking, 23 ells Scots white, price thereof.....	£5	18	6
<i>Item</i> , to be the other half of the said Gowns, 14½ ells Scots black, price thereof	11	16	0
<i>Item</i> , to Robert Spittall, for making of the said gowns.....	3	0	0

Masking, however, in rude times, was frequently employed as a cover for robbery—a purpose which it was well adapted to serve in outlying places. At the Court of Justiciary, in Edinburgh, on 15th February, 1507–8, Lord Avondale being the presiding judge—a man named Edward Simson was convicted of art and part of the stouthrief, by way of mumming, under silence of night, of certain sums of money, extending to six score marks, or thereby, from Sir Donald Moffat, chaplain, furth of his chamber, near the Kirk of Craggy. The spoliation of a priest was regarded as a crime of no ordinary magnitude; and besides, as observed by Mr Pitcairn, who reports the case in his *Criminal Trials*, the guizards being "freely allowed to enter houses and exhibit their mummings or drolleries, dancing and singing &c," such facilities afforded by these pranks "to commit robberies, induced a severer measure of punishment, in cases of delinquencies of this dishonourable sort, whilst murderers, &c., were allowed to compound for their atrocious crimes." Simson was condemned to death, and hanged. A confederate of his, Andrew Mure, who had been his partner in the same felony, was brought before the Court on the 16th June following. He was convicted of art and part of stouthrief, by way of mumming, having his face muffled, under silence of night, of a certain sum of money from Sir Donald Moffat, chaplain, furth of his chamber, near

the Kirk of Craggy; and also of art and part of the stouthreif of two horses from William Wallace, furth of Drumboy. No more mercy was shewn to Andrew, who had helped to steal horses as well as a priest's hoard, and so the gibbet was also his end.

"A HAPPY NEW YEAR."—Part 2nd.

Of all the festive nights which customs old,
And waning fast, have made the poor man's own,
The merriest of them all is Hogmanay.
Then from each cottage window, 'mid the gloom,
A brighter ray shoots through the falling flakes,—
And glimmering lanterns gleam, like Will-a-Wisp,
Athwart the fields, or, mounting over stiles,
Evanish suddenly : no dread is now
Of walking wraith, or witch, or cantrip fell;
For Superstition's self this night assumes
A smiling aspect, and a fearless mien,
And tardy Prudence slips the leash from Joy.

Grahame's "British Georgics."

THE main feature of the old-fashioned *guizing* on Hogmanay was the rhymical melodrama which the Guizards enacted at every door where they found encouragement : and which, we may remark, had its counterpart in the "St George's Play" usually performed in England by similar companies at the Christmas and Easter seasons. The *dramatis personæ* of the Scottish play comprised Galatian, or Galatius (probably the Caledonian king, Galgacus, who fought Agricola at the Battle of the Grampians); the Black Knight, calling himself "the great king of Macedon;" Dr Brown, who cured dead men; Devil Doubt or Judas, who bore the traditional bag, in which the "carls" were stowed; and Bessie, the Talking Man or Chorus. This tragi-comedy has almost entirely fallen into oblivion, doubtless owing to the trouble of committing it to memory. The singing-boys who now represent the Guizards rarely meddle with Galatian, but limit themselves to popular songs, prefaced by the following address :—

Get up, gudewife, and dinna be sweir
To deal your bread as lang's you're here;
The day will come when you'll be dead,
And neither want ale nor bread.
Get up, gudewife, and shak' your feathers,
And dinna think that we are beggars;
For we're bonny bairns come out to play :
Get up and gie's our Hogmanay,

And accordingly they get their Hogmanay in the shape

of "carls" (bread and cheese) or halfpence—the latter being preferred.

The guizing and Guizards of old times could not fail to provoke the ire of the Kirk, and high censures were from time to time pronounced, but all to little purpose. Such denunciations were equally ineffectual when directed against what was considered another form of masking. In the seventeenth century and later, the Scottish women of all degrees were fond of wearing a light plaid, or "tartan screen," disposed about the head and shoulders in such a way as that it could be used as a veil to hide the face in public, "at kirk and market." This fashion was pertinaciously condemned from all the pulpits, and the ecclesiastical mind waxed so bitter, that the Kirk-session of Monifeith passed an order, on 17th September, 1643, directing their beddall "to buy ane pint of tar to put upon the women that hold the plaid about their head in the church"—that is to say, the fair transgressors were to be tarred like so many sheep! Nevertheless, the plaid-veil survived to Allan Ramsay's day, as testified by one of his finest lyrics—

Now wat ye wha I met yestreen
Coming down the street, my joe?
My mistress, in her tartan screen,
Fu' bonnie, braw, and sweet, my joe.

In the year 1702, Hogmanay guizing gave so much offence to the Kirk-session of Falkirk, that a large number of farmers' sons and farm-servants, belonging to the East Carse, were cited to answer for their conduct. They were accused of going about on the last day of the year, "acting things unseemly"—nothing worse, we may suppose, than Galatian, which was harmless enough. The fault was not denied; and the delinquents had to profess their contrite sorrow for what they had done, and to promise amendment for the future. They then received a public rebuke, accompanied with a stern warning that if they committed the like folly again, they would be dealt with far more severely.

The Hogmanay fashions in the Highlands have been already detailed. Let us glance at those which once distinguished the old parish of Deerness, in the Orkneys. About the beginning of this century, the humbler classes, young and old, formed themselves into one company, and made a round of calls at the chief houses—the farm-houses and others. On arriving at the first, they knocked authoritatively at the door, and commenced singing the following carol :—

This night it is gude New'r E'en's night,
We're a' here Queen Mary's men;
And we're come here to crave our right,
And that's before our lady.

The very first thing which we do crave,
We're a' here Queen Mary's men;
A bonny white candle we must have,
And that's before our lady.

Gudewife, gae to your butter ark,
And weigh us here ten mark:
Ten mark, ten pund,
Look that ye grip weel to the grund.
Gudewife, gae to your geelin' vat,
And fetch us here a skeel of that.
Gang to your aumrie gin ye please,
And bring frae there a ewe-milk cheese.
And syne bring here a sharpening-stane,
We'll sharp our whittles ilka ane.
Ye'll cut the cheese, and eke the round,
But aye tak' care ye cutna your thoom.
Gae fill the three-pint cog o' ale,
The maut maun be aboon the meal.
We hope your ale is stark and stout,
For men to drink the auld year out.
Ye ken the weather's snaw and sleet,
Stir up the fire to warm our feet.
Our shoon's made o' mare's skin,
Come open the door, and let's in.

In obedience to their summons, the door was opened wide, and they all crowded into the dwelling, where an abundance of fare and nappy ale awaited them. Having partaken of the good cheer, they departed, and continued their circuit, repeating their song, and receiving similar entertainment, which was ungrudgingly afforded. Somewhat in the above strain is the fragment of a song which was used on New Year's Eve, at Richmond, in Yorkshire, where the keeper of the pinfold went round

the town, attended by a rabble, knocking at certain doors, and singing—

To-night it is the New Year's night, to-morrow is the day,
And we are come for our right and for our ray,
As we used to do in old King Henry's day.

Sing, fellows, sing Hagman heigh !

If you go to the bacon-flitch, cut me a good bit,
Cut, cut and low, beware of your man;
Cut, and cut round, beware of your thumb,
That I and my merry men may have some.

Sing, fellows, sing Hagman heigh !

If you go to the black ark, bring me ten mark,
Ten mark, ten pound, throw it down upon the ground,
That I and my merry men may have some.

Sing, fellows, sing Hagman heigh !

But the most singular Hogmanay custom surviving in Scotland to our own day is that called *Burning the Clavie*, which annually enlivens the fishing-village of Burghead, on the Moray Firth. Its origin and import have hitherto baffled all research. The "Clavie" consists chiefly of a tar-barrel, which, being ignited in the gloaming, is carried about the town in triumph, and then deposited on the top of a neighbouring eminence, from which, however, it is speedily displaced, and rolled down to the bottom. The unmeaning ceremony is concluded by the crowd knocking the blazing "Clavie" to pieces. Formerly the "Clavie" was carried along the shore, where vessels were lying; but this part of the programme, so apt to lead to dangerous consequences, is now wisely omitted. Nothing like "Burning the Clavie" is known in any other part of Scotland.

In all the Lowland cities and towns the observances of Hogmanay may be said to be alike. Hours before midnight, the singing-boys disappear with their wallets of "carls;" and as the "witching time" approaches, the streets generally become busy with lads of the artisan class, waiting to usher in the year, the chief place of rendezvous being the market-cross. Nobody can think of retiring to rest till after "that hour o' night's black arch the keystone." At last the clock strikes twelve, and each stroke is welcomed by the

eager assemblage with a cheer that might arouse the dead.

Then starts the welkin wi' the yell,
 Frae street to street the echoes swell;
 I've even heard the Auld Kirk bell,
 Without a lee,
 Reel i' the spire, and ring itsel',
 Wi' perfect glee!

Numbers of the crowd now rush away, at rapid speed, on first-footing expeditions, leaving the rest shaking hands all round, wishing "A Gude New-Year!" and filling up and tossing-off bumpers. Meanwhile the street-wells are environed by giggling damsels with pitchers and pans, each striving to obtain "the cream o' the well"—that is, the first draught of water after twelve o'clock, which ensures good luck throughout the year, together with the certainty of a husband. This custom is popular in South Wales, where the children draw the water, and return home singing an appropriate stave:—

Here we bring new water
 From the well so clear,
 For to worship God with
 This happy New-Year.
 Sing levez dew, sing levez dew,
 The water and the wine;
 The seven bright gold wires
 And the bugles they do shine.

Sing reign of Fair Maid
 With gold upon her toe—
 Open you the West Door,
 And let the Old Year go.
 Sing reign of Fair Maid,
 With gold upon her chin—
 Open you the East Door,
 And let the New-Year in.

In Perth, as well as in Edinburgh, and various other towns, the "hot pint" was once all the rage on New Year's morning. "The changes which took place in trade about 1780, brought a great number of spinners and cloth printers" to the neighbourhood of Perth, and they are said to have introduced the "hot pint" in this quarter. It was compounded of warm ale, whisky, sugar, and spice—a most heady mixture, which was carried about in copper kettles, and dispensed in the

streets as well as in every household visited by a First-foot—the individual who first enters a house on New Year's morning. But the kettle with its hot pint has long been superseded by the ubiquitous, everlasting whisky-bottle. It is a custom in many families in the town of Nottingham that one of the heads of the house previous to locking the street door for the last time in the year, carefully deposits a gold coin in close proximity to the door, where it is allowed to remain until the new year has been ushered in by the ringing of the church bells, when the gold is taken indoors; and this is believed to ensure a sufficient supply of money for the year's necessities.

First-footing is still much in favour with the masses of the Scottish population both in town and country. No adverse weather—neither rain, hail, nor snow can daunt the swain intent on being the first-foot of a friend or a sweetheart. As a poet of sixty years back has sung—

Now tho' the very skies should fa',
 In heavy flakes o' feathery snaw:
 Tho' wintry rain a deluge pour;
 The bitter, biting tempest roar;
 Whirling destruction through the street,
 And threatening heaven and earth to meet:
 Yet, spite o' winter's drearest form,
 The *first-foot* bauldly fronts the storm.
 The maudlin *Hot pint's* heavenly power
 Has rais'd a flame that bangs the shower;
 That heaviest rain, in even-down drench,
 And scarce a sea itsel', could quench:
 The whelming ocean couldna choke it,
 Nae mair than 'twad a Congreve rocket.
 Screevin' awa, he dreads nae harm;
 The glorious beverage, reeking warm,
 He dauntless bears; and, bent on fun,
 Nor *kebbuck* hains, nor *curran bun*;
 Thus doubly arm'd he onward plods,
 Nor envies goddesses or gods.
 Weel wat I, on Olympus tap
 There's neither sic a bit, nor drap.
 Happy that frien', whase door sae blest
 Is doom'd to welcome sic a guest!
 There Care nae shilpit face can shaw,
 He's bolted out amang the snaw.

Thus it was in the time of the Hot-pint, and thus it is in the time of the whiskey-bottle. Great faith is

placed by many folks in the good or bad luck attending a First-foot; and it frequently happens that the man or woman enjoying the reputation of being lucky is specially solicited to act as First-foot to several families in succession, who keep their doors fast locked till the expected visitor arrives. The First-foot must not enter a house empty-handed, and therefore brings bread and cheese in addition to the indispensable bottle, out of which the first glass to be partaken of must be poured. It is a *sine qua non* in many houses that the fire should burn on from Hogmanay through New Year's morning and New Year's day: if it goes out, the omen is bad—portending death in the family. On New Year's day the most of people will neither borrow, lend, or give anything whatever out of their houses—even so trivial a matter as a light being refused—for fear of their luck suffering—a superstition common to the ancient Romans. For the same reason, the floor must not be swept, or if swept at all, it must be swept *in* from the door and not *out* to the door, to preserve the luck of the house. All over Scotland the day is celebrated with unrestrained festivity. Much anxiety is expressed to enter on the New Year with “rowth o’ roughness,” or plenty to eat and drink, the contrary being an evil omen. The very poorest do their best to provide “something by ordinar” to hold good cheer; and the streets are filled with drunken people from morning till night. Even the paupers in the Poor-houses are treated to a New Year's supper, which is graced by the presence of the leading managers. Among the inhabitants of the Border it is common to put on a new dress on New Year's day; and the last glass in the bottle that day is called the “lucky glass;” for whoever drinks it, if a single person, will be the first married of the company.

In England formerly all classes of society gave New Year's gifts. The custom prevailed at Court as far back as the reign of Henry VI. Numerous examples may be gleaned from the Privy Purse Books of various monarchs. To begin with the early years of the Princess

Mary, afterwards Queen, and known in history as "Bloody Mary." we find that while she was still an infant, her royal father, one year, sent her a standing cup of silver gilt; Cardinal Wolsey gave a gold salt, set with pearls; and the Countess of Devonshire, a gold cross. But royal personages gave as well as got—giff gaff making good friends, according to the proverb. The Princess Mary, in 1542-3, made New Year presents to the King's servants in money, Many poor people brought small presents to her in fruit, game, &c., for which they were rewarded: thus there were "given to 20 poor women and 5 men bringing apples and other things, to every one of them 12d, having their stuff again paid—25s:" and "two children of the Chapel, giving a pair of gloves to my lady's grace—2s 6d." Mary's sister, Queen Elizabeth, during her long and glorious reign, received many presents every New-Year's-Day. It is stated that one year the Archbishop of Canterbury gave £40 to the Queen; the Archbishop of York, £30; and the other spiritual lords, £20 and £10. The largest sum given by any of the temporal lords was £20. Many of the temporal lords and great officers of State, and most of the peeresses, gave rich gowns, petticoats, smocks, kirtles, silk stockings, Cyprus garters, sweet-bags, doublets, mantles—some garnished with pearls, garnets, &c.—looking-glasses, fans, bracelets, caskets studded with precious stones, jewels ornamented with sparks of diamonds, in various devices, and many other kinds of trinkets. Garter-King-at-Arms gave the Queen a book of the states in the time of William the Conqueror, and a book of the arms of the noblemen in Henry the Fifth's time; the Master of the Savoy gave a Bible covered with cloth-of-gold inlaid with silver and gilt, and two plates containing the royal arms; Lambardi, the antiquary, his Pandecta of all the rolls, &c., in the Tower of London. The Queen's physician gave a box of foreign sweetmeats; another physician, a pot of ginger and a pot of orange flowers; two other physicians gave each a pot of green ginger and a pot of rinds of lemons; her apothecaries gave a box of lozenges; a box of ginger-candy, a box of

green ginger, &c. Of course, the Queen gave gifts in return; but she took very good care that they were inferior in value to those which she received.

The same custom of gifts prevailed at the Scottish Court, as shewn by the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer. Thus, on 1st January, 1489–90, ten angels, value £12, were “given to the King (James IV.) in his bed, in the morning.” On 1st January, 1506–7, there was given, by the King’s command, “to divers Minstrels, Schawmeris, Trumpeters, Taubrounnaris, Fiddlers, Luters, Clarschaaris, and Pipers, extending to 69 persons,”—who had evidently come to entertain the Sovereign with music on New Year’s morning,—“£40 11s.” King James V., on 1st January, 1525–6, spent £20 “that night, after supper, in mumming,” and distributed rings in presents to the value of £30. The same Sovereign was provided, in 1534, with certain gold work for New Year Mass; and in 1538, Thomas Ryne, goldsmith, was paid £229 19s “for chains of gold, gold rings, tablets, and other golden work delivered by him to the King’s grace against New Year’s Mass, and given in New Year’s gifts; John Kyll, goldsmith, was paid £23 “for three chains and two hearts of gold, delivered, as said is, at New Year’s Mass;” and John Mosman, goldsmith, got £63 10s “for certain tablets, chains of gold, and rings and stones, received the time foresaid.” After Mary, Queen of Scots, returned from France to her native kingdom, the Scottish Muse laid New Year gifts at her feet. Alexander Scott, “the Anacreon of old Scottish poetry,” as he has been called, composed a Welcome in the shape of “Ane New Year Gift to the Queen when she came first hame”—some stanzas of which we now quote :—

This gude New Year, we hope, with grace of God.
 Shall be of peace, tranquillity, and rest ;
 This year shall right and reason rule the rod,
 Whilk sae lang season has been sore suppress ;
 This year, firm faith shall freely be confest,
 And all erroneous questions put arrear ;
 To labour that this life among us last,
 God give thee grace against this gude New Year.

Herefore address thee duly to decore,
 And rule thy reign with high magnificence ;
 Begin at God to gar set forth his glore,
 And of the Gospel get experience ;
 Cause his true Kirk to be had in reverence ;
 So shall thy name and fame spread far and near ;
 Now, this thy debt to do with diligence,
 God give thee grace against this gude New Year.

Found on the first four virtues cardinal,
 On wisdom, justice, force, and temperance ;
 Applaud to prudent men, and principal
 Of virtuous life, thy worship to advance ;
 With justice equal, without discrepance ;
 Strength thy estate with steadfastness to steer ;
 To temper time with true continuance,
 God give thee grace against this gude New Year.

Gif saws be sooth to show thy celsitude,
 What bairn shall brook all Britain by the sea ?
 The prophecy expressly does conclude,
 The French wife of the Bruce's blood should be :
 Thou art by line frae him the ninth degree,
 And was King Francis' pairty maik and peer ;
 So by descent the same should spring of thee,
 By grace of God against this gude New Year.

Mary was destined to see few good New Years, but many, many long and weary years of sorrow and captivity. The prophecy, however, as to the French wife's son who was to rule all Britain to the sea, was fulfilled by the accession of James VI. to the throne of England. Shortly before Queen Elizabeth's death, when English statesmen and nobles were making private court to King James, he received a curious New-Year's gift from Sir John Harrington of Bath. It was a dark lantern : the top of pure gold, covered a pan for perfumes : within was a shield of silver, embossed, to reflect the light,—on one side being the sun, moon, and planets, and on the other the story of the birth and passion of Christ “as it is found graved by a King of Scots (David II.) that was prisoner in Nottingham ;” while the lantern was inscribed with the passage, in Latin—“ Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom ”—a shameless perversion of Scripture. New-Year's gifts continued to be given at the British Court until the reign of George III., when the practice was abolished.

If the presenting of New-Year's gifts was ever general among all classes of the Scottish people, it has long been transferred in different districts to Handsel-Monday—the word *handsel* in this connection signifying a gift. And now, having discoursed so fully on the customs of the New-Year season, we shall conclude with the hearty wish of a national poet :—

A happy New Year, a happy New Year !
To the friend and the foe, to the far and the near ;
Here 's wishing them health, meikle wisdom and wealth,
And mony a merry and happy New Year !*

* Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary* : Chambers's *Popular Rhymes of Scotland* ; Chambers's *Book of Days*, vol. i. p. 27, vol. ii. p. 787 ; Sir Harris Nicolas' *Chronology of History* ; Hone's *Every-day Book*, *Year Book*, and *Table Book* ; *Scottish Journal of Antiquities*, &c., vol. i., p. 34 ; Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i. ; *Edinburgh Literary Journal*, No. 120 ; Grant Stewart's *Popular Superstitions of the Highlands* ; Dr M'Leod's *Reminiscences of a Highland Parish* ; *The Prophecies of the Brahan Seer* (Appendix on Highland Superstition) ; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. i. part 1, pp. 50, 51 ; vol. ii. p. 102 ; Henderson's *Folk Lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders* ; Napier's *Folk Lore* (West of Scotland) ; *Choice Notes from Notes and Queries* : *Folk Lore* ; Ebenezer Picken's *Miscellaneous Poems*, vol. i. p. 78 ; Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, vol. iii. ; &c.

*THE ASSASSINATION AT THE KIRK OF
BLAIR.—Part 1st.*

Calphurnia. What mean you Cæsar? Think you to walk forth?

You shall not stir out of your house to-day.

* * * * *

Cæsar. What can be avoided,
Whose end is purposed by the mighty gods?
Yet Cæsar shall go forth.

Julius Cæsar.

THE times have been—and happily they are long over—when “deadly feud” played sad havoc in this country, generally defying the powers of law and order. It was not confined to the wild and warlike clans of the north. Our historical and criminal records teem with examples of the desperate violence which sprung out of the rivalries and quarrels of Lowland houses. The great Barons made open war on each other like the Chiefs of the Highlands; and the lesser Lairds were equally prone to vindicate or avenge, at their own hands, their personal rights or wrongs. Ever and anon the commission of some barbarous deed sent a thrill of horror through the land, and shamed a feeble executive, which possessed no adequate means of repression or punishment. Not unfrequently the evil was aggravated, and confusion worse confounded, when government, painfully conscious of its inability to cope with and quell two contending parties or combinations of parties, gave commission to the one side to put down the other, as in the case of the Clan Gregor. At the same time existed the recognised principle of *assythment* or monetary compensation for crime. If a murderer could induce the kindred of his victim to accept a pecuniary mulct or other reparation for what he had done; if he procured from them what was called a *Letter of Slaines*, he was entitled to the royal pardon, and so went free and unchallenged. It may be true, as has been said, that this principle (anciently prevalent among many nations,

and originating in the idea that the resentment of injuries sustained was a private, not a public duty) was calculated to prevent the perpetuation of revenge, and probably to some extent it accomplished that purpose when the law was weak and the offender strong; but on the other hand it must have had a tendency to abate any restraint which the dread of capital retribution might impose upon men of malignant passions. Illustration of this system, as well as of the unruly state of society in Scotland a few years antecedent to the Reformation, will be afforded by the ensuing narrative of the assassination of a father and son, in open daylight, on a Sunday afternoon, near the old parish kirk of Blair, or Blairgowrie.

Sir Walter Drummond, lord of Cargill and Stobhall, and (according to genealogical reckoning) thirteenth chief of the house of Drummond, flourished in the reigns of the first two Jameses of Scotland. His lady was Margaret, daughter of Sir William Ruthven, ancestor of the Lords of Ruthven and Earls of Gowrie. Sir Walter was knighted by James II., and died about 1445, leaving three sons—Malcolm, who succeeded him; John, who entered the Church, and became Dean of Dunblane and parson of Kinnoull; and Walter, whose near descendants figure prominently in the story which we have to tell. In the year 1486, Walter got a charter of the lands of Ledcrieff from his nephew, Sir John (son of his brother Malcolm), the first Lord Drummond. Walter of Ledcrieff left two sons—John, his heir; and James. John, called of Ledcrieff and Flaskhill, had one son, George, who married Janet Halyburton, of the house of Buttergask, in Blairgowrie parish; of which union came two sons, George and William, and a daughter. George, the husband of Janet Halyburton succeeded his father in the family patrimony, and purchased the lands of Newton of Blair or Blairgowrie. Apparently after this last acquisition arose the deadly feud, which culminated in the Sabbath-day murders at the Kirk. From one cause or another, bitter hatred against George Drummond of Blair was

engendered in the breasts of three of his neighbours, John Butter of Gormok, William Chalmer of Drumlochie, and John Blair of Ardblair. From what can be gathered, the quarrel lay principally on the part of Gormok, and so deep was his animosity that nothing could appease it but slaughter. He took counsel with Drumlochie and Ardblair; and they being fully embued like himself with the fierce and turbulent spirit of the age, were ready to back him in any enterprise to satiate his craving for revenge. Gormok nursed his wrath to fever heat, and finally resolved, with the hearty concurrence of his friends, to put Drummond to death: nay more, it would seem, from what subsequently happened, that they intended root and branch work—the destruction of Drummond and his two sons. It is altogether uncertain whether Drummond, though on unfriendly terms with the three Lairds, had suspicions of the desperate nature of the enmity which they bore him: at all events, his neglect of the most ordinary precautions for safety at the critical juncture would indicate his ignorance of the plot contrived against him.

A summer Sunday in 1554—it was the 3d of June—was chosen by the confederates for the consummation of their vengeance. Their plan was deliberate murder, to be done at the Parish Kirk. They mustered their friends and dependants in arms: and the assemblage comprised the three Lairds of Gormok, Drumlochie, and Ardblair; William Roy, George Tullydaff, William Chalmer, George M'Nesker, fiddler, and others, Drumlochie's household-men; Robert Smith, with tenants and cottars of Drumlochie; Andrew and Thomas Blair, Ardblair's sons, with David M'Raithy, his household-man, and Peter Blair and two others, tenants of Ardblair; William Chalmer in Cloquhat; Alexander Blair, half-brother to Gormok; William Butter; David Blair in Knockmaheir, with John and Patrick, his sons; William Young of Torrence, and Thomas Robertson, tenants to the Laird of Gormok; and others of their accomplices, “to the number”—as the record bears—“of 80 persons, bodin in feir of weir, with jacks, coats

of mail, steel-bonnets, lance-staves, bows, lang culverins, with lighted lunts (burning matches), and other weapons invasive." Their opportunity was to be found at the kirk, where the Drummonds, dreading nothing, were expected to attend the services of the day. Obviously it was designed to fall upon the Drummonds either before their entering or after their leaving the church; for we need not go the length of supposing that the conspirators were so abandoned in villainy as to determine on perpetrating murder in the sacred edifice itself—a sacrilegious atrocity which would draw down upon their heads the spiritual thunders of the ecclesiastical power in addition to the vengeance of the civil magistrate. Yet such a height of turpitude had occasionally been reached by human depravity. Murder had been committed in the house of God before. The Pazzi of Florence appointed the moment when Lorenzo and Guliano Medici should be kneeling at high mass in the Cathedral, for the assassination of the brothers; but what was still more base, the plot was concocted under the direct auspices of Pope Sixtus IV.

The Lairds and their party came, says the record, to the Parish Kirk of Blair, thinking to have slain Drummond and his youngest son, William, whom they fancied would accompany him; from which we may infer that the eldest son, George, who was married and had children, was not at Newton that day, and probably did not reside there at all. Farther, it is not said that Drummond and his son, William, went to church: the record only stating that the party "could not come to their perverse purpose." How the perverse purpose failed is nowhere explained. But we may observe here that we ought not to imagine, from the narrative given in the record, that the Lairds marched their men to the kirk in martial order, with loaded culverins and lighted lunts,—the description being couched in a purely formal style. Such a demonstration would have defeated its object by alarming the Drummonds: and an attack upon the church, after worship was begun, was obviously not intended. What we may

understand is, that the Lairds and their followers went to the kirk, partly singly and partly in small detached groups, just as they were in the habit of doing every week, for Blair was their Parish Kirk, as it was George Drummond's. They were armed, no doubt; but in those troubled days, persons in the country districts went armed both to kirk and market; and, therefore, the appearance of the conspirators would excite no apprehension. Either the Drummonds were not at church that day; or, if they were, their enemies were prevented from carrying their fell design into execution; and so, balked in their hopes, they retired from Blair, and proceeded to the house or Place of Gormok to partake of dinner. On sitting down at table, the Lairds, still breathing forth threatenings, sent out spies to watch the Place of Blair, and bring back speedy word if they saw the Drummonds stir abroad. The Place of Blair, or Newton of Blair, the seat of George Drummond, was an old, strongly-built, half-castellated manor house, standing high on the eastern side of the hill facing the village of Blairgowrie, and overlooking the wide and lovely expanse of the fertile plain of Strathmore. The residence of the Laird of Ardblair was situated, to the south-west, beside the lake of the same name, and surrounded on three sides by its waters; while in the contrary direction from Blairgowrie, were the House of Gormok and the Castle of Drumlochie, and in their immediate vicinity was the ancient Castle of Glasclune, held by the Herings or Herons. It was an easy distance from Gormok to Blair. The spies soon traversed it, and soon returned with the welcome intelligence that George Drummond and his son, William, had left Newton and gone down to the village to recreate themselves in some of the pastimes which were accounted lawful on the Sunday afternoons, after the service of the church, under the Romish order of things. Granting that the Drummonds had been kept at home by the suspicious presence of their foes, what more natural than that, after the latter were gone away, the father and son should deem all danger

removed, and embrace the opportunity of venturing out of doors? They accordingly descended the hill, and crossed over to the market-stance of Blair, an open space close to the Parish Kirk, and there proceeded with their recreation. The game in which they engaged was a quiet one—the “row-bowls,” a species of what we now call *bowling*. In that age, there were at least two bowling games practised—the “lang bowls,” at which James III. played, in St Andrews, on 28th April, 1487, and the “row-bowls” which we find James IV. patronising on 20th June, 1501, according to entries in the Lord Treasurer’s accounts.

The three Lairds, on receiving the report of their active scouts, started from table, and hastened towards Blair with the fixed design of embruing their hands in the life-blood of their enemies. We can well suppose that now the mail-coats and the steel-bonnets appeared, with the lances, culverins, and burning matches. Meanwhile the father and son were busy with their sport in the market-place, never dreaming of the deadly storm about to break upon them. They were alone “at their pastime play,” it is stated, “and at the row-bowls in the High Market-gate beside the kirk of Blair, in sober manner, trusting no trouble nor harm to have been done to them, but to have lived under God’s peace and the Queen’s;” when, about two o’clock in the afternoon, the armed party came upon them, to the number of 66 men—more than a dozen of the original 80 having apparently drawn back. The players were surrounded and attacked, without the slightest chance of assistance or escape. The assailants overpowered and cut them both down,—stabbed and shot them,—“cruelly slew them, upon auld feud and forethought felony, set purpose and provision, in high contempt of the Queen’s authority and laws.” Having finished their bloody work, the assassins left the mangled corpses lying where they had fallen on the bowling-ground, and made their retreat, exulting in the triumph of their revenge. The shouts and cries, the clash of steel, the reports of fire-arms, had alarmed the denizens

of the village, and now they crowded in consternation and horror to the fatal spot. Drummond and his son were dead, pierced and gashed with many wounds: and the bodies were borne by the peasants up the hill to Newton.

Without delay, accusation was laid against the murderers, the principal of whom were well known; and the constituted authorities acted with commendable alacrity. A summons was issued, on the 13th June, addressed to the Sheriff of Perth and Messengers-at-Arms, for apprehending and bringing the three Lairds and their accomplices before the Queen and Privy Council, or to take security for their appearance before the Justices in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, on the 3d of July. "And that ye charge them personally, gif they can be apprehended," said the writ; "and failing thereof, by open proclamation at the market-cross of the said head burgh of our shire, where they dwell, to come and find the said surety to you, within six days next after they be charged by you thereto, under the pain of rebellion and putting of them to our horn: the whilk six days being bypast, and the said surety not found to you in manner foresaid, that ye incontinent thereafter denounce the disobeyers our rebels, and put them to our horn; and escheat and inbring all their moveable goods to our use, for their contempt." The Laird of Gormok found the requisite caution for himself, —his sureties being John Crichton of Strathord and James Hering of Glasclune. But on the 4th August, the record bears that John Butter of Gormok was denounced rebel and put to the horn for not underlying the law for art and part of the cruel slaughter of George Drummond of Ledcrieff and William his son; and the cautioners, Strathord and Glasclune, were accordingly amerced. None of Gormok's confederates had as yet underlain the law, nor seemingly had they found caution. The Executive, however, was unremitting in its efforts to lay hold of the culprits. All or most of them had sought refuge in the north for a time, and, it becoming known by whom they were resettled, corresponding

measures were taken. On the 16th November, George Gordon of Scheves, James Gordon of Lesmore, and Gilbert Gray of Scheves, found caution to underly the law at the next Aire (or Court) of Aberdeen, for resetting, intercommuning, and supplying William Chalmer of Drumlochie and his accomplices, rebels at the horn for the slaughter of the Drummonds; and for affording the said rebels meat, drink, and other necessaries, in the months of July and August last. But two of the murderers were ultimately seized, and, being sent to Edinburgh, were tried for their lives, before the Justiciary, on the 12th December, same year, 1554. Their names were Patrick Blair, a tenant in Ardblair, and Robert Smyth *alias* Henry, a tenant in Drumlochy. They were both convicted of the slaughters laid to their charge, and were condemned to lose their heads. In terms of the sentence, they died by the axe of the executioner.

This was some expiation, though rather late in the day; but the chief offenders, the instigators of the crime, were still at large, though living in constant dread of arrest. Lord Drummond, as kinsman of the bereaved family of Newton, had taken up the cause as his own, and was using every endeavour to bring the fugitives to justice, so that they had good reason still to dread the worst. Two of their associates, perhaps not guiltier than any of the others, had already mounted the scaffold, and more would share the like fate if the law could lay its grasp upon them. Time dragged on—a weary time of anxiety and fear; until at length the Lairds made overtures for assythment, according to the custom of the country. What they desired was to obtain a *Letter of Slaines*, freeing and relieving them of the legal burden of their crime. As this obsolete kind of deed is curious and little known, we shall lay the principal portion of such a document before the reader, as it will render the subsequent stages of the case in hand better understood. The form of Letter which we now quote is of comparatively late date, and runs in the name of the widow of a

deceased person, A. B., and as taking burden on her for her children, then in their minority, and also in the names of the nearest of kin and tutors of line to the said children, and as taking burden for them : and the paper then proceeds:—

Forsameikle as we, in consideration of the repenting heart inwardly had, and manifested, declared, and shown to us by C. D., for the accidental slaughter of the said deceased A. B., upon the — day of — last bypast, — years; and also because the said C. D., and others in his name, have made condign satisfaction to us for the said slaughter, and hath made payment to us of certain sums of money, in name of kinboot and assythment: therefore, and for certain other good causes and considerations moving us, we, with one consent, and taking burden as said is, have remitted, forgiven, and discharged, and by the tenor thereof, freely remits, forgives, and discharges the said C. D. of all malice, rancour, grudge, hatred, envy of heart, and all occasions of actions, civil or criminal, which we, or any of us, had, has, or any ways may have in time coming, against the said C. D. for the said crime, and by thir presents, receive him in such amity, friendship, and hearty kindness, as he was with us before the committing of the said crime, and as the same had never been committed: and we, the beforenamed persons, for ourselves, and in name and behalf of the said children, in respect of their minority and lesser age, binds and obliges us, that the said C. D. shall never be called, pursued, by way of deed or otherwise, in or by the law, by us, or any of us, for his committing of the said slaughter, in time coming, under the pain of perjury, defamation, tinsell [loss] of faith, truth, and credit: and also we, for ourselves, and in name foresaid, by thir presents, will and grant that the said C. D. shall not suffer exile, banishment, or any trouble whatsoever, through the premises: most humbly beseeching his most gracious Majesty to grant also a pardon and remission, under the Great Seal, in most ample form, to the said C. D. for the foresaid crime: likeas we, or any of us, binds and obliges us to renew, reform, reiterate, ratify, and approve thir presents, as oft and whensoever we, or any of us, be required thereto, in the most ample form. In witness whereof, &c.

Proposals for accommodation were accordingly tendered to the Drummonds. The three Lairds and their confederates made offer to Lord Drummond and young George Drummond, the heir of Newton and Ledcrieff, that they would do penance for their crime by pilgrimage; that they would cause prayers to be offered, in Blair Kirk, or any other, for the repose of the souls of their victims; that they would do homage to the

family; and that they would pay 1000 merks, The paper which they gave in was the following :—

THE OFFERS *offered by the Laird of Gormok, &c., to young George Drummond of Blair, for the slaughter of his father.*

THIR are the OFFERS whilk the Lords of Gormok, Drumlocbie, and Arblair, and their colleagues, offers to my Lord Drummond and the son of umquhill George Drummond, his wife and bairns, kin and friends, &c.:—

Item, *In primis*, To gang, or cause to gang, to the four head Pilgrimages in Scotland.

Secondly, To do suffrage for the soul of the dead, at his Parish Kirk, or what other kirk they please, for certain years to come.

Thirdly, To do honour to the kin and friends, as use is.

Fourthly, To assyth, the party is content to give to the kin, wife, and bairns, 1000 merk.

Fifthly, Gif thir Offers be not sufficient thought by the party and friends of the dead, we are content to underly (submit) and augment or pare (reduce), as reasonable friends thinks expedient, in so far as we may lesumly (lawfully).

The four chief Pilgrimages of Scotland, assigned for persons under penance for crime, were *Melrose, Dundee, Scone, and Paisley*. “To do honour to the kin and friends” was to perform homage to them: the culprit, we are told, came before the nearest of kin (reckoned the avenger of blood,) and in presence of the other blood-relations of the deceased, having a halter about his neck, and kneeling down, offered his drawn sword by the point, and humbly craved forgiveness.

The offers did not satisfy the friends: and really the whole compensation proposed for the dastardly assasination of a father and his son fell little short of a mockery. But various considerations had to be taken into account. The Lairds had hitherto eluded justice; but their lives were still at stake, and there was the possibility that, if no arrangement could be effected, desperation might drive them into the commission of some new atrocity upon their pursuers. For that reason alone, it was expedient that the matter should be amicably composed. The friends sent back Answers, implying that they were willing to come to terms, but declaring those offered insufficient.

ANSWERS *by my Lord Drummond, &c., to the above OFFERS.*

THIR are the ANSWERS that my Lord Drummond, his

kin and friends, makes to the OFFERS presently given in by the Lairds of Gormok, Drumlochie, and Arblair, with their colleagues :—

Item, As to the first, second, and third article, they are so general and simple in theself (themselves), that they require no answer.

Item, As to the fourth article, offering to the kin, friends, wife, and bairns of George Drummond 1000 merk for the committing of so high, cruel, and abominable slaughters and mutilations, of set purpose, devised of auld by the Laird of Gormok, and George Drummond, his son, nor nane of his friends never offending to them, neither by drawing of blood, taking of kirks, tacks, steadings, or rooms ower ony of their heads, or their friends ; so, in respect hereof, my Lord Drummond, his kin, friends, the wife and bairns of George Drummond, can on noways be content herewith.

It is here distinctly stated, for the only time in the papers extant, that Gormok was the prime instigator of the murders. As to the farther progress of the negotiation, we are left a good deal in the dark ; but from the documents still to be adduced we seem justified in conjecturing that all three Lairds succeeded in making their peace, though the agreement with only one of them remains on record.

**THE ASSASSINATION AT THE KIRK OF
BLAIR.—Part 2d.**

The power that I have on you, is to spare you ;
The malice towards you, to forgive you: Live,
And deal with others better.

Cymbeline.

THAT the Lairds of Gormok and Ardblair made their peace with the Drummonds may be inferred from the existence of documents shewing that, after the lapse of four years, the Laird of Drumlochie obtained a Letter of Slaines for himself, his cousin, and six of his servants. By the time Drumlochie was thus relieved from the terrors of the law, he had become reduced to desperate circumstances, so that he was able to pay no pecuniary assythment whatever. He declared that he was brought to the miserable pass of having neither lands, goods, nor money, all apparently through his concern in the assassination at Blair ; but he made propositions which the Drummonds were pleased to entertain, and so a painful business was closed.

THE OFFERS of *William Chalmer of Drumlochie, for himself, William Chalmer, his cousin, George Tulydaf, William Chalmer, John Fydlar, James Key, John Barry, John Wood, his servants.*

IN THE FIRST, the said William offers to compear before my Lord Drummond, and the remanent friends of umquhile George Drummond, and there to offer to his lordship, and the party, ane naked sword by the point; and siclike to do all other honour to my lord, his house and friends, that shall be thought reasonable in siclike cases.

Item, offers to give my Lord and his heirs his *Bond of Manrent*, in competent and due form, sic as may stand with the Acts of Parliament and laws of this realm.

Item, because through extreme persecution by the laws of this realm, the said William has neither lands, goods, nor money, he therefore offers his son's marriage to be married upon George Drummond's daughter, freely without any tocher: and siclike the marriage of the said William Chalmer, his cousin, to the said George's sister.

Item, the said William offers him ready to any other thing whilk is possible to him, as please my Lord and friends to lay to his charge, except his life and heritage.

The Bond of Manrent was a formal obligation to render personal military service to Lord Drummond on all occasions when required to take the field, and against all enemies save the Sovereign. The Drummonds, making the best of a bad bargain, accepted of the first two propositions offered, and gave the Laird a Letter of Slaines, upon which he executed and delivered his Bond of Manrent.

The Laird of Drumlochie's Bond of Manrent.

BE IT KENNED till all men by thir present letters, me William Chalmer of Drumlochie, that forsameikle as ane noble and mighty lord, David, Lord Drummond, and certain other principals of the four branches and most special and nearest of the kin and friends of umquhile George Drummond of Ledcreiff, and William Drummond, his son, for themselves, and remanent kin and friends of the said umquhile George and William, has remitted and forgiven to me their slaughters, and given and delivered to me Letters of Slaines thereupon; and that I am obliged by virtue of ane contract, to give the said noble lord my Bond of Manrent, as the said Contract and Letters of Slaines, delivered to me, fully proports: therefore to be bound and obliged, and by thir present letters binds and obliges me and my heirs in true and aefauld [one-fold, sincere] Bond of Manrent to the said noble and mighty lord, as Chief to the said umquhile George, and William, his son, and the said Lord's heirs, and shall take true and aefauld part in all and sundry their actions and causes, and ride and gang with them therein, upon their expenses, when they require me or my heirs thereto, against all and sundry persons, our Sovereign Lady and the authority of this realm allanerly excepted: and hereto I bind and oblige me and my heirs to the said noble and mighty Lord, and his heirs, in the straitest form and sicker style of Bond of Manrent that can be devised, no remede nor exception of law to be proponed nor alleged in the contrary. In witness of the whilk thing, to thir present Letters and Bond of Manrent, subscribed with my hand, my seal is hung, at Edinburgh, the fifth day of December, the year of God one thousand five hundred fifty eight years, before thir witness, Andrew Rollok of Duncrub, James Rollok, his son, John Grahame of Garvok, Master John Spens of Condry, and Laurence Spens, his brother, with others divers.

WILZAM CHALMER of *Drumloquhy*.

This deed, it will be observed, is dated four years subsequent to the murders at Blair: and now the story of these crimes is wound up.

The Laird of Gormok seems to have mingled in some of the treasons of Queen Mary's days, and was laid

under arrest. In a letter from the Queen to Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyle, dated at Edinburgh, 31st March, 1566, (and preserved in the Argyle collection), her Majesty directs that the Laird of Gormok, who had been in ward, was to be set at liberty, upon his finding security; "but the sureties ve know maun be Lawland men, and not of the greatest of our nobility, whilks are not commonly taken sureties in sic cases;" and when Gormok was relieved, he was to go to Argyle, and abide in the Earl's company, till the Queen should be "further advised." That Gormok found the surety required appears from the Register of the Privy Council, which contains an entry of date, 29th April following, to the effect that "George Maxwell of Neuwark, and John Sempill of Foulwod," had "become security that John Butter of Gormok shall remain in free ward in company with the Earl of Argyle, and not pass to the bounds of the Earl of Atholl."

It has been supposed that the Blairs of Ardblair were a branch of the ancient line of Balthayock, whose ancestor was Alexander de Blair of the times of William the Lion and Alexander II. of Scotland. But whether there was any such relationship or not, we come upon a singular transaction in which George Drummond of Blair, son of the murdered Laird, and Alexander Blair younger of Balthayock, became cautioners for Alexander Blair of Friarton, near Perth, in a case of matrimonial misunderstanding. In the Privy Council Register is entered a contract, dated 27th December, 1567, whereby Alexander Blair, younger of Balthayock, and George Drummond of Blair, became "acted and obliged conjunctly and severally for Alexander Blair of Friertoun, that Jonete Kincragy, spouse to the said Alexander, shall be harmless and skaithless of him and all that he may lett in time coming, under the pain of five hundred marks; and also that he shall receive the said Jonete in house, and treat, sustain, and entertain her honestly, as becomes an honest man to do to his wife, in time coming; and also the said Alexander shall pay to the said Jonete the sum of sixteen pounds for her

expenses and sustentation the time bygane, viz., the half of the said sum of £16 at Uphallowmas, and the other half at Fastren's Even": the cautioners further became bound that the children of the said Jonete by her first marriage with the deceased David Lindsay, "shall be thankfully answered and paid of their bairns' part of gear, whereunto they have right as law will; and in case any question or quarrel arises in time coming betwixt the said Alexander and Janet, they are content to submit judgment thereof to Patrick Lord Lindsay of the Byres and Master James Haliburton, Provost of Dundee, toward the baill premises; and the said Alexander Blair obliged him to relieve his said sureties of the premises; and that for him, his heirs, executors, and assignees." Which agreement, we trust, was faithfully fulfilled in restoring harmony betwixt the husband and wife.

In the year 1597, an attack was made upon the house of Ashintully, in Kirkmichael parish, and its laird, Andrew Spalding, was taken prisoner, by an armed company of Perthshire gentlemen, with whom he had feud. The case appears in the Books of Justiciary. On the 24th November, 1598, Sir James Stewart of Auchmadies, Sir James Stewart of Ballieachan, *Patrick Butter, fiar of Gormok*, James Stewart of Bodinschaws, Robert Stewart of Facastell, James Stewart of Force, David Donald of the Grange, Alexander Robertson of Fascallie, Alexander Stewart of Cullelony, *Patrick Blair of Ardblair*, *William Chalmer of Drumloch*, James Ramsay of Ardbikie, George Campbell of Crunan, William Wod, sometime of Latoun, David Campbell of Easter Denhead, John Falow, younger, in Balbrogie, Robert Alexander in Cowper, Colin Falow in Grange, Patrick Campbell of Kethik, John Sowter in Cowper-grange, James Blair in Brunstoun, Sir Walter Rollok, tutor of Duncrub, Henry Durham in Falow, John Pitcairns at the Mill of Kilour, David Arnot of Incheok, George Cuneiston of Ettradour, Laurence Nairne of Alliefargie, Archibald Herring of Drimmy, and Archibald Campbell of Persar, were delated for

besieging of the Place of Ashintully, and taking of Andrew Spalding of Ashintully—committed in the month of November, 1597. The Gormoks, Ardblairs, and Drumlochies, would almost seem to have been leagued in strict confederacy together for purposes of violence. Here we find Patrick Butter, fiar or heir of Gormok, evidently the grandson of the Blair conspirator; Patrick Blair of Ardblair, perhaps the son of John; and William Chalmer of Drumlochry, who (for aught we can tell) may have been the granter of the Bond of Manrent to Lord Drummond. When the case was called in Court,—the King's Advocate, Mr Thomas Hamilton, being pursuer or prosecutor,—the accused parties, most of whom had found caution for their attendance, did not all appear. Amongst those who had so found security, were Patrick Butter, fiar of Gormok; Patrick Blair of Ardblair; and William Chalmer of Drumlochry. Butter's cautioner was *Domino Drumlochry*—the laird of Drumlochie; Ardblair's was Mercer of Meikleour; and Drumlochie's was Patrick Butter of Gormok, the father, as we take it of the fiar. The case was not proceeded with that day. The King's Advocate produced his Majesty's warrant for continuation of the diet to the 15th December following. The Laird of Ardbikie; William Wood, sometime of Latoun, now of Banblane; David Campbell of Easter Denhead; William Chalmer of Drumlochry; and Archibald Herring of Drimmy, offered themselves to the assize, dissented to the continuation, and thereupon asked instruments, in which they were followed by John Pitcairn at the Mill of Inverkelour. Afterwards, John Earl of Athole, was repeatedly called as cautioner and surety for James Stewart of Auchmadies and others to have entered and presented them, but no appearance being made, his Lordship was amerced in 500 merks for each of the parties, and the latter were adjudged rebels and put to the horn, and all their moveable goods declared to be escheated. On the 15th December, 1598, the adjourned case again came up, but was continued to the 16th, 19th, 20th, and 21st, on

which last diet it was continued further to the 23rd December; but no other procedure appears in the record,—the matter being probably quashed by private agreement.

It has been seen that Ardblair's cautioner was Sir Laurence Mercer of Meikleour. The Mercers had already been connected by marriage with the Bairs of Balthayock,—Giles Mercer, one of the daughters of Aldie, and aunt of Sir Laurence, having married Alexander Blair of Balthayock, as her second husband; and she survived him, and married a third time. In regard to Gormok, again,—a portion of that estate, called Wester Gormok, passed into the hands of James Mercer, brother of Sir Laurence Mercer of Meikleour, some time in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Register of the Privy Council shows that James Mercer and his wife and servants were accused of having unlawfully down-cast and demolished a country bridge near the Mill of Glasclune, on the lands of Robert Stirling of Letter, in the summer of 1618. A formal complaint on the subject was brought before the Council, on 14th January, 1619, but failed for want of proof:—

Apud Edinburgh, xiiij die mensis January, 1619.

Anent our Sovereign Lord's Letters raised at the instance of Robert Stirling of Letter, making mention that where, albeit the demolishing and down-casting of brigs be a crime very hurtful to the commonweal, and of a very rare example to be heard of in any country, notwithstanding it is of truth that lately, upon the xxii day of June last bypast, James Mercer in Wester Gormok; Bessie Anstruther, his spouse; William Murray, his servitor; James Carmichael, Alexander Downy, William Whitehead, John and James Clydes, as servitors to the said James Mercer, and others, their accomplices, and with convocation of his Majesty's lieges to the number of — persons, bodin in feir of weir, come to the Brig of Mylnehoill, standing upon the burn of Feryntre, pertaining to the said Complainer, and serving as a common passage to all his Majesty's lieges haunting and resorting that way, and in special as a common passage to and fra his Mill of Glasclune, and cutted, destroyed, demolished, and cast down the said brig, not only to the said Complainer's hurt and skaith, but to the hurt of all his Majesty's lieges haunting that way. The Pursuer and Defender, viz., James Mercer for himself and the others, being personally present, &c., the Lords of Secret Council assoilzies simpli-

citer the said hail Defenders fra this pursuit and comparence, and fra the hail points, clauses, and articles contained therein; because the said complaint being admitted to the pursuer's probation, and divers witnesses being produced, the said Pursuer failed in proving any point of the said Complaint against the said Defenders.

The Mercers had also marriage relations with the family of Butter of Gormok. A daughter of Gormok became the spouse of Mercer of Melginch, the representative of a branch of the Meikleour and Aldie stock, who died in February, 1636. The Register of Deeds contains an Obligation by John Mercer, son and heir of the late Laurence Mercer of Melginch, to Katherine Butter, daughter of the late Patrick Butter of Gormok, and relict of the said Laurence, for 8000 merks, which, by marriage contract, was to have been "wairit and bestowit upon propertie of land" for behoof of the said Katherine; which obligation is dated at St Andrews and Bowbrige, 10th and 30th June, 1636. In the latter part of the century the Ardblairs are found to have borrowed sums of money from the Aldies. At Ardblair, on 26th February, 1677, John Blair of Ardblair, and James Blair, fiar thereof, granted a Bond to Mrs Grizell Mercer, Lady of Aldie, for £190 14s Scots. At Edinburgh, on 31st March, 1683, James Blair granted a Bond to the said lady for the sum of 400 merks: and at Edinburgh, on 2d April, 1683, James Blair of Ardblair granted a Bond to her for £18 sterling. Further, a Factory was executed by Dame Grizell Mercer of Aldie, at Paris, on 8th October, 1688, to Mr David Ramsay, writer in Edinburgh, giving him power to receive and uptake and give receipts for the following debts in her name, viz., £190 14s Scots from John Blair of Ardblair, and James Blair, fiar thereof, of date, 24th February, 1677; 400 merks Scots from James Blair, fiar of Ardblair, of date 13th March, 1683; £18 sterling from do., of date 2d April, 1683; and £13 sterling from Patrick Ogilvie of Templehall, of date 3d April, 168—.

George Drummond of Ledcrieff and Blair, son of the assassinated Laird, was married to Catherine Hay of Megginch, aunt of the first Viscount Dupplin and Earl

of Kinnoull. Of this union came five sons, George, John, Henry, Andrew, and James; and four daughters, Sybilla, Elizabeth, Catherine, and Janet. The third son, Henry, took up the profession of arms, and joined the French auxiliary forces of the Queen Regent, Mary of Lorraine, when Leith was held by them against the English under Lord Gray of Wilton, in 1560. George of Blair is entered in the Register of the Privy Council, on the 7th September, 1569, as having "become surety and law-burrows for David Ramsay, brother-german to George Ramsay of Banff, that Sir Hugh Curry, parson of Esse, should be harmless and skaithless of the said David Ramsay, and all that he may let, in time coming, but frand or guile, but as law will, under the pain of 500 marks." The Laird of Blair is heard of again in 1583. For some time there had been disputes between Glenurchay and Weem, as to their respective rights in the lands of Cranach, the Rannoch, Auchmore, and others; and Glenurchay was accused of spoliation on the Laird of Weem and his tenants. By a Contract, dated at Perth, the 14th November, 1583, the quarrel regarding the lands was arranged, and all other disputes were referred to the arbitration of John Campbell of Lawers: and the witnesses to this Contract were the Earl of Athole, and George Drummond of Blair. The latter died on 4th January, 1594, and was succeeded by his eldest son, George. The second son, John, had died young. The fourth, Andrew, became minister of Panbride, and left four sons:—Henry, who acquired the lands of Gairdrum; Patrick, who obtained the honour of knighthood, and held the office of Scots Conservator at Campvere; James, who was a clergyman in the Diocese of Durham; and Archibald.

George, third of Blair, married Giles, Lady Mugdrum, a daughter of the house of Abercromby of that Ilk, and died on the 11th August, 1596, leaving two sons, John and George, and one daughter, Jean. John Drummond became fourth Laird of Blair, and married Agnes, daughter of Sir David Herring or Heron of Lethendy and Glasclune; but there was no child of the marriage.

John's sister, Jean, became the wife of her cousin, Henry Drummond, Laird of Gairdrum. John died on the 2d May, 1620, and having no issue was succeeded in his inheritance by his only brother, George. This fifth Laird obtained a Royal Charter, of date 9th July, 1634, whereby the town of Blairgowrie was erected into a burgh of barony. He married Marjory Graham, daughter of Bishop Graham of Orkney, who was proprietor of the lands of Gorthy. The son of this marriage, George, who was born at Blair, on the 29th November, 1638, succeeded as sixth Laird on his father's demise. In the year 1682, he sold the estate of Blair; and two years afterwards, in 1684, he made purchase of the lands of Kincardine, in Menteith, from his kinsman, James, Earl of Perth, and Chancellor of Scotland. These lands had once belonged to the family of Montfichet or Montifex, which came over to England in the train of the Conqueror, and subsequently acquired large possessions in Scotland. Sir William Montifex was Justiciar of Scotland in the fourteenth century, and had three daughters, who were his co-heiresses, among whom his estates were divided at his death. To Mary, he eldest of the sisters, he gave the largest share, comprising the baronies of Auchterarder, Cargill, and Kincardine. She was united to Sir John Drummond, who died in 1373; and from the time of that marriage, Kincardine had remained with the house of Drummond. After the Earl of Perth sold the lands, the purchaser changed their designation to Blair-drummond, and erected a suitable manorial-seat. But further than this stage we need not follow the history of the family.

The ancient Place or House of Blair was burned down about the middle of the seventeenth century, —some say during the struggle against the Cromwellian usurpation in Scotland; and a story is told that a number of persons concealing themselves in the strong and deep vaults underneath, were preserved from the fury of the conflagration that raged overhead. The edifice was afterwards rebuilt in much of the former style, and continued as the manor-house till near the end of last

century, when the then proprietor erected a new residence in the neighbourhood. Various ghostly legends belong to the old house,—particularly that it was haunted by a spectre called “The Green Lady,”—one of those “Green-gowns” so common to Scottish castles.*

* Dr Malcolm’s *Genealogical Memoir of the House of Drummond*, p. 144; Pitcairn’s *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. i., part 1. p. 367, 371–374, vol. ii., pp. 63, 64, 68; Lord Kames’ *Historical Law Tracts*: Appendix, No. 1; *Sixth Report of the Royal Commissioners on Historical Manuscripts*, pp. 609, 708; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 455, 598, vol. ii. p. 26, and (unprinted) vol. for 1618–20, folio 84 B; Sinclair’s *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xvii. p. 191; *Statistical Account of Perthshire*, p. 897; Registers of Deeds. The documents relating to the murder of the Drummonds at Blair were communicated to Mr Pitcairn’s Collection of *Criminal Trials* by the late Mr H. Home Drummond, M.P.

THE BRIDGE OF PERTH.—Part 1st.

Just by this time we see the Bridge of Tay,
O happy sight indeed! was it that day;
A bridge so stately with eleven arches,
Joining the south and north, and common march is
Unto them both, a bridge of squared stone,
So great and fair.

The Muses Threnodie.

WHEN the Roman legions of Agricola invaded “Caledonia stern and wild,” there were neither roads nor bridges in the country: that is to say, such “roads” as existed were mere foot-tracks, leading dubiously through forests, along river-sides, and between neighbouring clusters of wattled, cone-shaped huts, which formed the villages of the natives; and any bridges were but tree-trunks thrown across narrow torrents. Real, substantial roads and bridges were the first fruits of the Roman occupation. The conquerors of the world on subjugating a new and uncivilized province invariably proceeded to construct means of internal communication, which, in conjunction with their entrenched camps and fortified stations, enabled them to retain the territory which their valour had won. The empire, throughout its wide extent, was traversed by broad, paved causeways, all of which converged at the Eternal City: and the remains of those highways, as well as of stately viaducts, models of architectural stability and elegance, still to be found in various parts of the ancient dominions of the Cæsars, attest the wondrous energy and industry of the Roman race. It seems to have been about the year of grace 81 when Agricola advanced into the valley of the Tay, where his soldiers were agreeably reminded of the Tiber and the Field of Mars. He is supposed to have founded the station of *Victoria* on the present site of Perth, and to have also caused the construction of a bridge of timber across the Tay — an undertaking which occasioned immense toil to his troops and to the crowds of natives

who were impressed for the work. The poet of the *Muses Threnodie* draws a lively picture of this bridge-building :—

Meanwhile courageously they do advise
 A bridge to build, for further enterprise :
 Then forthwith fall they, with redoubled strokes,
 To fell the tall fir-trees and aged oaks,
 Some square the timber with a stretched line,
 Some do the tenons and the mortice join,
 Some frame an oval, others make a cub,
 Some cut a section, other some do grub,
 Some with great compass semicircles form,
 Some drive the wedges, painfully some worm,
 Some do hoise up the standers, other fix them,
 And some lay goodly rafters o'er betwixt them;
 What strength or skill can work from point to point,
 They cunningly contrive with angular joint,
 And do most strongly bind these contignations,
 To make them stand against all inundations.
 All men are set to frame, all hands are working,
 And all engines are busied without irking :
 Thus, in short space, a bridge they strongly make,
 With passage fair; and for their safety's sake,
 A mighty strength to be, they frame withal,
 On either end, a bridge to lift and fall,
 That soldiers might within it keep at ease,
 Admitting or repelling as they please.

Perth undoubtedly became one of the central stations of the Romans; for there are four military *iters* or roads from different quarters leading to it,—namely, one from Aberdour, through the town of Kinross; another from North Queensferry, through Kinross also; a third from Stirling, through Dunblane and the Camp at Ardoch; and a fourth from Abernethy; lending probability to the story of Agricola having erected a bridge at *Victoria*, though we possess no authentic record on the subject.

It is unquestionable, however, that a bridge over the Tay at Perth existed from a very early period of the history of the city. The Picts, after their conversion to the Christian faith, are said to have dedicated the Church and Bridge of Perth to St John the Baptist,—hence the name *St Johnstoun*, by which the town was also known in the olden times. We now pass out of the region of historic obscurity and fable; for we find, on indubitable authority, that in the beginning of the thirteenth century Perth possessed a bridge, which

perhaps had stood for ages. This structure, which crossed the river at the foot of the High Street, was swept away by the great flood of 1210, which likewise proved disastrous to the town itself, and endangered the safety of the Scottish Monarch, William the Lion, and his court. In the summer of that year, the King, being overtaken by the infirmities of old age, repaired to the province of Moray, his birthplace, hoping that the air of his native hills and glens would invigorate his worn and decrepid frame. At the end of the summer he returned, but was seized with sickness at Kintore, a town in the Garioch district, Aberdeenshire. By the 21st of September he was able to resume his progress, and went to Forfar, whence he came to Perth, on his way to Stirling, where a Parliament had been summoned to assemble after Michaelmas. While the King abode in the Castle of Perth,—the usual residence of Royalty previous to the building of the Dominican Monastery,—the rainy weather brought out the Tay like a sea. “In the year 1210,” according to Fordun’s *Scotichronicon*, “and as some would have it about the time of the feast of St Michael, there happened such a great fall of rain, as made the brooks and rivers exceed their usual channels, and carry off much of the harvest crop from the fields. The water of Tay, with the water of Almond, being swelled by the increasing rain, and by a spring tide from the sea, passed through a great part of that town, which of old was called Bertha, now also Perth, in Scotland. In consequence of a mound or rampart giving way, not only some houses, but also the large Bridge of St John, with an ancient chapel,” known as the Chapel of Our Lady, which stood close to the bridge “were overthrown. William the King, David, Earl of Huntington, the King’s brother, Alexander, the King’s son, with some of the principal nobility, went into a boat, and sailed quickly out of the town, otherwise possibly they might have perished. Of the burgesses, and other persons of both sexes, some went into boats, and others fled, for safety, to the galleries or balconies which were

over their houses." Many of the houses in towns, at that period, were built of stone,—with two floors,—the upper floor being reached by an outside stone stair. The ground floor was an open space, called a booth or "channel," or divided into two booths, in which merchandise was exposed for sale; while above the booth or booths, and under the windows of the upper flat, was a wooden balcony or "gallery," the front of which was usually decorated with carving or otherwise. This style of house is accurately described in the charter by Henry Bald, goldsmith in Perth, to the Abbot and Canons of Scone, granted between 1189 and 1199, whereby Henry conveyed, "in pure and perpetual alms, my two booths, with the gallery placed above them, within the burgh of Perth, in that land, which William, of pious memory, King of Scots, granted to me for my homage and service: to wit, these two booths which are in the front of the street, which leads from the Church of St John Baptist, towards the Castle of Perth, on the east side, opposite the house of Andrew, the son of Simon; those two booths, to wit, which are towards the north." As to the inundation, Hector Boece asserts that "though the King with his wife, and the most part of his family, escaped out of that great danger and jeopardy, yet his youngest son, named John, with his nurse and twelve other women perished, and twenty other of his servants beside. Here," adds the historian, "was heard such clamour, noise, and lamentable cries, with bitter roaring and dreadful shriekings, as is used in time when any town is suddenly taken and surprised by the enemies: for as the common proverb witnesseth—'Fire and water have no mercy:' and yet of these two, water is more terrible and dangerous; for there is no force or wit of man able to resist the violence of inundations, where they suddenly break in." Sir James Balfour states, in his *Annals*, that "the town of Bertha was wholly taken away with the great inundation of the Rivers Tay and Almond; from which King William, with his Grace the Prince, and his brother, David, Earl

of Huntingdon, very narrowly escaped by boat; for all which there was, notwithstanding, a son of King William's and his nurse, drowned." That an infant son of the King was lost in the catastrophe rests upon no better authority than Boece's word. But old inhabitants of Perth used to relate a tradition that this child fell out of the boat during the flight of the Royal party, and thereby met his death: and it was added that the Hill of Kinnoull derived its name from the circumstance that the boy, on being swept down the river along its base, "youllled" or screamed—hence *King-youll* or Kinnoull—a fair specimen of popular etymology! From a calculation of the spring-tides, it has been computed that the inundation happened on Monday, the 4th October, when the tides flowed at eighteen minutes past two o'clock in the morning, and at forty-two minutes past two in the afternoon. King William reached Stirling, and held his Parliament; and on the 10th October, he granted a charter to the town of Perth confirming the privileges possessed by the burgh in the time of his grandfather, David I., who died in 1153, and conferring new privileges: which charter is the first on record pertaining to the Fair City.

After the calamity of 1210, the Bridge was rebuilt, on its old site, or perhaps the ruined structure was only repaired: at all events, in the early part of the following century, the Bridge is spoken of as still in course of edification. Subsequent to the defeat of King Robert Bruce at the Battle of Methven, in 1306, and while the town of Perth remained in the hands of the English, one of their highest civil officials made free with a portion of the burgh revenues devoted to the upholding of the Bridge. This is stated in a petition sent by the burgesses to King Edward I. of England, in which they also complain of other spoliations to which they had been subjected. The document, which is still extant, has been included in the publication of *Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Scotland*. It opens as follows:—

To our Lord the King show the burgesses of St John's town of Perth, that Sir Eustace de Godisbeche, Chamberlain of Scotland, has disseised them of a rent which belonged to their Bridge of Tay, and has given it in ferme to a William Romain, to answer in exchequer for that rent, the which ought to go to the maintenance of the bridge, to the prejudice of their freedom, and the damage of the bridge. Of which they pray remedy.

The King's answer, if he gave one, is not known. Bruce, when established on the Scottish throne, granted a charter to Perth, in 1317, in which the Bridge is mentioned : and eleven years later, the fabric appears to have been undergoing considerable reparation; for King Robert issued an Order, dated at Glasgow, 4th July, 1328, to the Abbot and Convent of Scone, to allow the Magistrates of Perth the liberty of taking stones out of the quarries of Kynkarachi and Balcormac, for the edification of the Church of Perth (which had become dilapidated) and the Bridges of Perth and Earn. The town of Perth had a special interest in the good condition of the Bridge of Earn, as it was the great access from the south. This Bridge had been built by ecclesiastical contributions, and was upheld from the same source down to the Reformation; but it afterwards passed under the charge of the community of Perth, as will be seen in the sequel. From time to time various allotments of public money were made for the maintenance of Perth Bridge. The second entry in the *Chronicle of Perth* states that "upon 12 day of May, 1363 years, Alexander Abercromby of Murthly set ane tack to John Mercer, burges of Perth, of the lands of Ubny, within the barony of Murthly, *cum heriotis, marchetis, et merchiamentis*, for the space of eight years, for the sum of forty pounds sterling money, for relief of the barony of Murthly, paid *ad fabricationem pontis de Perth*." John Mercer was the famous Scottish merchant, and the ancestor of the house of Meikleour and Aldie. On the 10th April, 1395, King Robert III. granted, at Linlithgow, a charter to Perth, by which he conferred on the community the right and privilege of having perpetually a Sheriff of their own, whom the Magistrates should elect; and also the farther privilege

that the community "should have and possess perpetually all the fines, amerciaments, and whatsoever other issues of the said Sheriff's Courts within the said burgh of Perth, lands, waters, and others, pertaining to the said burgh, and coming within the bounds, and fairs and markets thereof, and that for the sustentation and ordering and reparation of the Bridge of Tay, together with all and whatsoever amerciaments and fines of the Justice-air within the said burgh of Perth, and bounds belonging thereto." The same Sovereign granted a charter, at Edinburgh, 5th May, 1400, confirming the charter of King William the Lion, and also giving and granting to the Magistrates and community of Perth, "perpetually, to the reparation, building, and mending the Bridge of Tay, all the fines, amerciaments, and escheats, that shall happen to occur, or should justly occur, by and through whatsoever transgressions and attempts contrary to the tenor of the foresaid Charter of Confirmation." Farther, this Monarch granted, at Edinburgh on 11th January, 1404-5, another charter, by which "for the common and public utility of the kingdom, and the upholding of the Bridge of Perth, the support of which is necessary to the whole community of the kingdom," he disposed to the Aldermen and community of the burgh of Peth, and their successors perpetually, the sum of £11 sterling money, "of the residue of the burgage-farms of the said burgh of Perth, due and payable to his Majesty; in pure and perpetual alms for the sustentation and upholding of the foresaid Bridge of Tay, to be lifted and uptaken yearly forth of the burgage-farms of the said burgh of Perth, at the two usual and accustomed terms in the year." Once more, the King evinced his care for the Bridge of Perth, by granting a charter, at Rothsay, on 5th March, 1405-6, a month before his death,—in which, *inter alia*, he gave power to the Aldermen, Bailies, Councillors, and Dean of Guild of the burgh of Perth, with consent and assent of the Guild brethren of the same, and "after mature deliberation, as is requisite, of the whole Council and community of the said burgh of Perth,

and inhabitants thereof, present and to come, of whatever state and condition they be of," to make statutes, ordinances, constitutions, and consuetudes, "against all the burgesses and others, incomers of the said burgh; and the penalties and unlaws, to be lifted and uptaken how often soever it shall seem expedient, as well in the Bailie-Court of the said burgh of Perth, as in the Guild-Court of the same, and other Courts whatsoever, to the utility, profit, and specially for upholding of the Bridge of Perth."

We pass over the next three reigns, during which there is no special notice of the Bridge. But in an Exchequer Court of King James IV., held at Edinburgh, on the 18th June, 1494, the Auditors of Exchequer, having taken inspection of the charter of Robert III. of 1395, "ordained that all the amerciaments and fines of the Justice-air of Perth should be paid to the Aldermen and Sheriff of Perth, to the reparation of the foresaid Bridge of Tay, and that they should yearly make count of the same fines and amerciaments, according as is set down in the said charter; and that the extract of the foresaid Justice-air be directed to the foresaid Sheriff within burgh, then and in all time coming." This application of the fines for the maintenance of the Bridge subsequently received repeated confirmation from James IV. At Linlithgow, on the 18th June, 1502, that King granted a letter in the following terms, confirming the grants of fines and amerciaments in the Justice-airs and Sheriff-Courts of Perth, to the upholding of the Church, Bridge, and other public works in the town:—

JAMES, by the grace of God, King of Scots, to the Provost and Bailies of the Burgh of Perth, greeting: Forsameikle as our progenitors of maist noble mind, whom God assoilzie, gave and infett you, and your successors, of the office of Sheriffship within our said burgh, with amerciaments, escheats, and profits of your co-burgesses and neighbours that happens in our said Sessions and Justice-airs of Perth, to be disposed upon the Kirk, Brig, and other necessary works, in present and perpetual alms, likeas the infettment given to you thereupon purports: and we herefore desiring that the said infettments and freedoms and privileges granted to our said burgh, both of

ould be observed and kept, and the profits coming thereof be raised, uplifted, and disposed upon the said Kirk work and other profitable and common work of our said burgh, fra all singular and particular profit, to the intent of the giver and founder thereof: We charge you straitly and command that ye raise and bring all unlaws, amerciaments, escheats, fines, and any profits that falls or happens to fall in the said Sheriff Courts and Justice-airs, of the neighbours and co-burgesses foresaid: and in special the sum of £30, whilk Robert Wilson, called Lang Rob, is amerciate in by an Assize, for the breaking of our Law-borrowes of (blank) taken betwixt him and James Wright by Walter Oliphant, Bailie of the said Burgh; and gif need be that ye compel and distrain the said Robert and his borrowe's lands, and make poinding of their readiest goods, to the said avail of the said sum, and dispoone the same in the maist profitable and ganane (begun) work within our said burgh, and bring your count thereof yearly before the Auditors of our Exchequer, according to your said infetments, that it may be understood by them that it be disposed and put in profitable use: And this ye leave not undone, as ye will answer to us hereupon, and under the pains of warding of your persons and payment of the said sums of your own proper goods. Given under our Signet, at Linlithgow, the xviii day of June, and of our reign the fourteenth year.

Another confirmation was given on 21st November, 1503, and a third in 1507 :—

At Perth, 7th July, 1507.

The Lords, in presence of the King's highness, ordains that the Clerk of the Justrye (Justiciary) make an extract to the Alderman and Bailies of Perth, as Sheriffs of the same within the said Burgh, of all unlaws and fines that fall in the last Justice-air by ony of the neighbours and indwellers of the said burgh, to be raised by them to the upholding of their Brig of Tay, after the form of their Charter of King Robert's, shewn and produced before the King's highness and Lords; and also ordains the said Clerk to draw the said sums in a place together in the Ad-journal, to be shewn in the Exchequer, for the charging of the said Alderman and Bailies for their count given that they may be seen how the said sums are disposed concerning to their said Charter.

A space of nearly forty years now intervenes, which is blank as respects the history of the Bridge : and then the curtain rises upon a memorable scene of strife.

The noble family of Ruthven, having large domains in the neighbourhood of Perth, and also a stately baronial mansion in the city itself, acquired much influence and popularity amongst the burghers. The office of

Sheriff of the Shire of Perth was hereditary in this family; and in 1529, William, second Lord Ruthven, was chosen Provost of the town—an honour to which he was re-elected in 1546, and again in 1548, after which date he was annually continued in the dignity till 1553, when he died. This intimate connection of the Ruthvens with the burgh proved distasteful to Cardinal Beaton, the head of the Roman Catholic party in Scotland, inasmuch as the family favoured the principles of the Reformation, which were then fast spreading in Scotland. Lord Ruthven's eldest son and heir, Patrick, Master of Ruthven, became Provost of Perth, in 1544. Shortly after the election, the Cardinal, accompanied by the Regent Arran, arrived at Perth, in the course of a progress which he was making through the kingdom for the punishment and extirpation of heresy; and the tribunal which Beaton set up condemned to death several of the inhabitants who had given offence by rejecting Romish error. Five men and a woman were accordingly executed at the Spey Tower,—the men being hanged and the woman drowned. Not content with these judicial murders, the Cardinal instigated Arran to decree the removal of Patrick Ruthven from the Provostship, and to confer the same upon John Charteris of Kinfauns, who had been elevated to the civic chair a year before, but was extruded by Arran's order, and the office given to Alexander Macbreck, who was in turn succeeded by the Master of Ruthven. Charteris was attached to the Romish interest, and in favour with the Cardinal. But the citizens, whose liberties were infringed and set at nought by the act of arbitrary power which thrust Charteris back upon them, resolved as one man that they would resist it. It was soon evident enough that Ruthven would not be deprived without a struggle. Urged by the Cardinal, whose imperious temper brooked no opposition, Charteris resolved to make good his appointment by force of arms, and, calling around him his friends and adherents—Lord Gray, Norman Leslie, son of the Earl of Rothes, and others—concocted an attack upon the city. The plan was to

give the assault at two points—the Bridge and the South Port. The Bridge, at that time, was fortified at the west end, abutting upon the foot of the High Street, by a strong tower and a drawbridge; and the South Port was defended by the Spey Tower. St Magdalene's Day, the 22d July, 1545, was fixed for the attempt. The enemy came both by land and water. Kinfauns and Lord Gray, with one division of their forces, were to storm the Bridge; while Norman Leslie, with the other division and several pieces of cannon in boats, should come up the Tay with the tide, and batter the South Port. The confederates seem to have entertained no doubt of the success of their enterprise. But "there's many a slip between the cup and the lip."*

* Adamson's *Muses Threnodie*; Fordun's *Scotichronicon*; Hollinshed's *Scottish Chronicle*, vol. i., p. 388; Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 35; Rev. Mr Scott's *Statistical Account of Perth*; *Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Scotland*, Part II., No. 15; *Chronicle of Perth*, p. 1; *Perth Charters and Writs*.

THE BRIDGE OF PERTH.—Part 2d.

——— Battle of the Bridge of Tay,
With manly courage fought, where killed were many,
Upon the day sacred to Magdalene.

* * * * *
I pray thee, Gall, quoth I, that story show,
Some thing I heard of it, and more would know,
Tell it, I pray.

The Muses Threnodie.

EARLY in the morning of the Magdalene day, Lord Gray and his band marched up the east bank of the Tay towards the Fair City, which they hoped to surprise before the citizens, unaware of the impending danger, had left their pallets. The burghers, however, were fully on the alert, having been well informed of the machinations of their enemies. The popular Provost, the Master of Ruthven, was in the town, at the head of the armed inhabitants, who mustered quietly at the two Ports which were to be attacked. At the Bridge Port the drawbridge was up, and the iron-bound gate of the tower which opened to the High Street, close to Our Lady's Chapel, was barred and bolted, as usual; but there was no sign of a guard—not even the porter was visible. Despite this seeming carelessness, Ruthven had a strong body of his men disposed in ambush in the lanes and closes near the Fish Market, ready to burst forth and overwhelm the hostile intruders whenever they made their way into the street. It had been arranged by the enemy that the Bridge and the South Port should be attacked simultaneously, as soon as the flowing tide enabled Norman Leslie's boats with the cannon to reach the Shore; but Lord Gray, who commanded the land party, either miscalculated the tide-time, or allowed his impatience for action to get the better of his judgment; for ere the flotilla approached the town, he led his men upon the Bridge, confident of immediate success. Archbishop Spottiswoode recounts the affair, from first to last, in his

History :—"Kinfauns," he says, "convened his friends to advise how the townsmen might be forced to obey. The Lord Gray undertaking to enter the town by the Bridge, Norman Leslie and his followers were appointed to enter at the south gate, and St Magdalen's Day appointed for their meeting. The Lord Gray came early in the morning, but Norman, who brought his company by water, was hindered by the tide; yet all being quiet in the town, and no appearance of stir, the Lord Gray resolved to enter, esteeming his own forces sufficient; but he was not far advanced, when in the street called Fish Street, the Master of Ruthven, with his company that lay close in some houses near by, issued forth upon him, and compelled him to turn back. The disorder in the flight was great, every one hindering another, so as many were trodden to death, and some threescore persons killed." This account of the conflict coincides substantially with that given by Henry Adamson, in his *Muses Threnodie*. The latter authority enters largely into details: and there can be no doubt, that the local poet obtained accurate information from old George Ruthven, the physician, who (supposed to be a son of the Master of Ruthven) was born about 1546, and must have known in his early days many of the actors in the scene,—although it is not he but Gall, "sweetest Gall," who relates the story in the poem. Adamson's friend thus proceeds:—

So in that morning soon by break of day,
 The town all silent did beset, then they
 To climb the bridge began and port to scale,
 The chains they break, and let the drawbridge fall;
 The little gate of purpose was left patent,
 And all our citizens in lanes were latent,
 None durst be seen, the enemies to allure
 Their own destruction justly to procure;
 Thus entering, though well straightly, one did call,
 "All is our own! Come, fellow-soldiers all!
 Advance your lordly pace; take and destroy,
 Build up your fortunes!" Oh! with what great joy
 These words were heard!

* * * * *

With such brave thoughts, they throng in through the port,
 Thinking the play of fortune bairnly sport,
 And as proud peacocks with their plumes do prank,

Alongst the bridge they march in battle rank,
 Till they came to the gate with iron bands,
 Hard by where yet Our Lady's Chapel stands;
 Thinking to break these bands it made some hover,
 For strong they were, therefore some did leap over,
 Some crept below, thus many pass in by them,
 And in their high conceit they do defy them.
 Forward within the town a space they go,
 The passage then was straight, as well ye know,
 Made by a wall. Having gained so much ground,
 They can exult: incontinent did sound
 A trumpet from a watch-tower: then they start,
 And all their blood do strike into their heart :
 A wondrous change ! Even now the bravest fellows,
 In their own fancy's glass, who came to quell us,
 The vital spirits their arteries do contain,
 Their panting hearts now scarcely can sustain.
 Our soldiers then, who lying were a-darning,
 By sound of trumpet having got a warning,
 Do kythe, and give the charge. To tell the rest,
 Ye know it well, it need not be expressed.
 Many to ground were borne, much blood was shed,
 He was the prettiest man that fastest fled.
 Yea, happy had they been, if place had served
 To flee, then doubtless more had been preserved.
 Within these bars were killed above threescore,
 Upon the bridge and waters many more.
 But most of all did perish in the chase,
 For they pursued were unto the place
 Where all their baggage and their cannon lay,
 Which to the town was brought as lawful prey.

This may be pronounced the best, as being the most animated and graphic passage in the whole poem, which indeed is generally very laboured and prosaic. The victory of the citizens finally disposed of the pretensions of Charteris, and established the Master of Ruthven in the Provostship during the remainder of his term of office. Archbishop Spottiswoode adds that "the Cardinal wished rather the loss had fallen on the Lord Ruthven's side, yet he was not ill-pleased with the affront that Gray had received, for he loved none of them; and so, making no great account of the matter, he went on with his work, and in the country of Angus calling many in question for reading the New Testament in English, which as then was accounted a heinous crime." The Master of Ruthven was succeeded as Provost at Michaelmas, 1545, by Oliver Maxtone, but was again elected Provost in 1547, and also for eleven years consecutively after he became Lord Ruthven.

The Reformation drew on apace. The sermon preached by John Knox, in St John's Church of Perth, on Thursday, 11th May, 1556, gave the signal for the rising of that resistless storm which overthrew the Romish Church in Scotland. Lindsay of Pitscottie, in his *Chronicles*, has a story which connects the Bridge of Perth with the progress of the Protestant outbreak, on that ever-memorable Thursday. He says that after "the altars, images, and all other vain idols" were cast down and demolished in the church, the multitude "that same night, passed to the bridge of St Johnstoun, and there held ane council, and called upon the servant of God, John Knox, and caused him make his prayers to the Almighty God that He might give them ane true and godly counsel, conform to the glory of God and His will, to set out and defend His true Kirk and the glory thereof: and syne it was concluded amongst them that they should pass immediately to the Charterhouse of St Johnstoun." It is not improbable that some such convocation of the excited populace was held on the bridge, with the view, perchance, of diverting them from attacking and destroying all the religious houses of the place: but John Knox says nothing about it in his *History*.

It appears that by this period of the sixteenth century, the Bridge of Perth was in a frail and tottering condition. The Bridge of Almond was in even a worse plight; for the *Chronicle of Perth* records its downfalling, on the 23d November, 1560; and it was not rebuilt until the year 1619. The Perth Bridge was from time to time repaired with planks and pillars and supports of timber,—the town's finances being obviously unequal to the cost of stone-work. The *Chronicle of Perth* records the successive dilapidations of the crazy old fabric. Thus—"the first downfalling of twa bows [two arches] of the Brig of Tay; and of Lowswark, by inundation of water, on the 20th day of December, 1573 years, at midnight:" and again, "the downfalling of five bows of the Brig of Tay, on the 14th day of January, 1582 years.²²" On the 29th of this last month a female delin-

quent was accused before the Kirk-session of "fearful execrations used by her the night the bridge fell:" which execrations might, perhaps, (according to the superstitious fancies of the time), have had some share in producing the dire catastrophe. The citizens seem now to have bestirred themselves to raise funds for the proper re-edification of their bridge; but the burgh was still poor, and even the State was unable to afford much pecuniary aid. King James, however, when at Ruthven Castle, on his way to the hunting in Athole, in the beginning of the month of August, 1582, nearly three weeks before the "Raid of Ruthven," granted a letter ratifying and confirming to the community of Perth certain grants of fines formerly bestowed for the maintenance of the Bridge:—

REX. We, understanding that among sundry other privileges and freedoms granted by our most noble progenitors to the Provost, Bailies, and community of our burgh of Perth above all memory of man, they have been doted of auld, and thereupon remained in continual possession sinsyne of the intromission and uplifting of all and sundry amerciaments, fines, and compositions of whatsoever Justice Courts, Justice-airs, and Sheriff Courts, halden upon ony transgressions within their burgh and bounds thereof, to be employed to the uphald and reparation of the Brig of Tay, whereof always they should be comptable to our Chakker [accountable to our Exchequer], as their Charters granted to them thereupon, under the great seal, by our predecessor Robert of gude memory, of the date, at Linlithgow, the tenth day of April, and of his reign the fourth year, together with sundry other writs and documents ratifying and approving their possession thereof from time to time, has truly proven and manifest to us: whilk liberty and privilege foresaid finding to have been granted by our said predecessors to the said Provost, Bailies, and community, for the well-being and standing of their said Burgh and Brig, and therefore not minding that the same should, by any our occasions, be abrogate or prejudged in any sort, but rather in respect of the necessary use to the whilk it was first dedicate and granted, as likewise of the constant dispositions and affections of the said burgh to our service and obedience uttered at all times whenas we had ado therewith, willing that the same should take effect as well in this present Justice-air, as in all other Justice Courts and Airs to be halden, at ony time hereafter, upon ony inhabitant within their bounds and freedom: Therefore, and in ratification and approbation of the said liberty and privileges, we have granted and accorded, likeas by the tenor hereof, with advice of

the Lords of our Secret Council, we grant and accord to the said Provost and Bailies of our said Burgh, as Sheriffs in that part, now present and being for the time, the fines and compositions modified by the Lords Compositors of this present Justice-air, halden at our Burgh of Perth, to the hail town and inhabitants thereof, for their part of the present Air, extending to the sum of five hundred merks, together with whatsoever other sum or sums of money the said burgh in general, or any inhabitant thereof in particular, shall be adjudged or decerned to compone in whatsoever Justice-airs, or Justice Courts, to be halden at any time hereafter within this realm, to be uplifted, intromitted with, and employed by them to the use whereunto it was first appointed, they remaining in the meantime comptable therefor to our said Chakker yearly when it shall happen; discharging herefor our Treasurer and his deputes now present and being for the time, and all and sundry our officers and ministers of our laws, whom it effeirs, of uptaking, craving, receiving, uplifting, or intromitting with the said composition modified to the said burgh in this present Air, extending to the sum foresaid, as likewise with all other compositions wherein the said inhabitants in general, or any of them in particular, shall be decerned and adjudged for any crime or offence in any sic Justice-air or Justice Court at any time hereafter, pouding, troubling, or molesting them, or any of them, therefor, in any form, but that they suffer and permit the said Provost and Bailies, as Sheriffs foresaid, to intromit and take up the same whenever it shall happen, without any trouble or interruption, to be employed and made compt of as said is, as they and every one of them will answer to us upon their obedience, discharging them otherwise, and of their offices in that part, by thir presents. Given under our Signet, and subscribed with our hand, at Ruthven, the third day of August, 1582.

JAMES R.

The above document is important as establishing a fact which has escaped the notice of all our Scottish historians, namely, that the King twice visited Ruthven Castle in the eventful month of August, 1582. He was at Perth in the end of July, unattended by the unpopular favourites, Lennox and Arran; and he quitted the city for the north, accompanied by the Earls of Athole and Gowrie. The royal party made a passing stay at Ruthven Castle, and thence went on to the country of Athole, where James was to spend some time in the sports of the chase. The plot to seize his person, and detach him from Lennox and Arran, was then in embryo; but it speedily took shape; and when

he returned to Ruthven Castle, on the 22nd August, dreaming of no danger, the plans of Gowrie and his confederates were fully matured, and the Raid of Ruthven was enacted next day.

The fines and other monies available to the Town Council did no more than enable them to carry on the patching of the broken Bridge with timber, while every other spate in the river threatened to sweep it away altogether. The Decreet of 1586, granted by the Lords of Council and Session, in the dispute betwixt the rival burghs of Perth and Dundee, states that the Perth Magistrates pled as a reason why they should not pay certain duties claimed for repairing the shore and bulwark of Dundee, that their need was equally great "of sic exactions to support the common weal of their own burgh, mair requisite to be helped nor the said shore and haven of Dundee, specially the Brig having twice fallen down and decayed, and lately being erected of timber, is ready to fall without present help." But in that year the Magistrates of Perth obtained the royal authority to assume the management of the Bridge of Earn, and levy tollage thereon, for three years, in order to its repair, although the charge of their own Bridge was evidently more than sufficient for them. At Holyroodhouse, on 25th January, 1586-7, King James granted this Letter:—

JAMES, by the grace of God, King of Scots, to all and sundry our lieges and subjects whom it effeirs, to whose knowledge thir our Letters shall come, greeting: Wit ye us, understanding that the Brig of Erne, whilk by the charity of beneficent for the time was bigged and up-haldin till the time of the Reformation of Religion, is now with the causeway adjacent at baith the ends, through great floods and inundation of waters, become ruinous, a great number of the stones of the pillars being shaken loose, and ane part of the pend in some parts of the said Brig already fallen, so that it is presently in sic estate that gif the same be not beittit [built] and repaired in time, it shall altogether decay, to the great hurt of the common-weal and hinder of our service, chiefly in time of war, the said Brig being the only ready passage to all our subjects to and fra the north parts of our realm, as well high as low-land: for remeid whereof, We, with advice of the Lords of our Secret Council, have given, granted, and committed,

and by thir our Letters gives, grants, and commits our full power and commission, bidding and charge, to the Provost, Bailies, and Council of our burgh of Perth, and sic person or persons as shall be depute by them, with advice of the Presbytery and Eldership of the same, and of John Ross of Craigie, and Archibald Dundas of Fyngask, conjunctly, to collect and receive from every horseman passing by the said Brig and causeway the sum of two pennies; frae every footman, being substantialis, one penny; for every horse-load of whatsomever merchandise or wares, one penny; and that during the space of three years next to come after the date of thir our Letters; for beitting [building] and repairing of the said Brig and causeway: with the like power to them, of the first and readiest of the said sums, to big and cause to be bigged ane stone wall, with ane port, at ane of the ends of the said Brig, furnished with bands, locks, and key, wherethrough the person or persons to be depute, as said is, may be the more able to collect the sums particularly above written during the said space: Wherefore we charge straitly and command you, all and sundry, our lieges and subjects foresaid, that ye answer, obey, and make payment of the sums particularly above specified, at all times as ye crave passage by the said Brig, to the person or persons to be depute for collecting of the same, in manner and to the effect above mentioned, during the said space, and that ye make no refuse, stop, nor impediment, even as ye and ilk ane of ye will answer to us upon your obedience and under all highest pain and charge that may after follow: Ordaining the said Presbytery and Eldership, and the said John Ross and Archibald Dundas, to take care and see the sums to be collected in manner foresaid, applied to the use above mentioned, and no otherwise, and to comptroll the Collectors thereof as oft as they shall think expedient,—as they will declare their affection to so gude and godly work, and otherwise will answer to us upon the contrary. Given under our Privy Seal, at Holyroodhouse, the twenty-five day of January, the year of God Jai V^c fourscore six years, and of our reign the twenty year.

(Privy Seal affixed, but no signature.)

Doubtless the Magistrates, under the appointed supervision, faithfully applied what tollage they collected to the upholding of the Bridge. But before the three years were out, another misfortune befel their own Bridge. On the 20th December, 1589,—according to the *Chronicle of Perth*,—occurred “the downfalling of the twa tree-pillars of the Brig of Tay.” The loss of these timber supports could be easily supplied, and the Bridge would continue to be kept passable, though all the time it was at the mercy of every flood in the river, and fre-

quently the citizens went to their beds at night expecting that ere next morning the *disjecta membra* of the fabric would be tossing and tumbling past the Friarton-hole. But when the century was closing the town bestirred itself in earnest to obtain a thorough repair of the Bridge, or, perhaps, the erection of a new, and substantial one, if the crumbling, timber-propped, old ruin was beyond reparation. The inhabitants resolved to contribute towards the cost to the utmost of their ability : aid was solicited from the King : and the energetic movement progressed to a successful termination.

Possibly the space of ground occupied as the Fish-market, at the foot of the High Street, was found to interfere with the access to and from the old Bridge, or was likely to be required for the operations connected with the contemplated building-work ; but, at anyrate, the *Chronicle of Perth* mentions that in September, 1598, "the Fish-market was removed fra the Shore head to the Southgate Port, by Act of Council." The same *Chronicle* notes that the community had now upon their hands the repair of the westmost part of St John's Church. In November, 1598, "the town began to repair the New Kirk in walls and windows." The *Chronicle* next notes that on 9th January, 1598-9, "the town began their voluntary contribution, for reparation of the Brig of Perth, and left in August, 1600." In furtherance of this most necessary work, King James and his Privy Council, on 7th February following, ordered John Murray of Tibbermuir and John Ross of Craigie, proprietors of the quarry of Pittheavlis, to allow the Magistrates of Perth the liberty of taking stones out of said quarry for the reparation of the Bridge, on payment of 50 merks yearly, till the Bridge was finished. Moreover, three months after the Gowrie Conspiracy, his Majesty granted to the town the "Great Charter" of 15th November, 1600, in which all previous grants to the Bridge were confirmed. "The Bridge of Tay," says this document, "is a most precious jewel of our kingdom, and a work the most profitable and primarily necessary to our whole kingdom and dominion, and for

the suppression of rebels and such as are viciously affected most commodious, and also keeping the one-half of the kingdom in faith, obedience, and duty of office, with the other half thereof, towards us and the Kings of our kingdom and dominion." As before, the burgage farm of £80 due by the town annually to the Exchequer was to be allocated in the proportions of £69 8s 8d to the Hospital, and £10 11s 4d to the upholding of the Bridge. The Charter granted the fines and escheats of any Perth citizen convicted before any court in the kingdom; and all the confiscated goods of forestallers within the burgh, for the benefit of the Bridge. It also declared that the Bridge of Earn "should be esteemed a necessary part and pendicle of our said burgh of Perth and their said Bridge of Tay": that, therefore, it should belong to the community of Perth, and that they should perpetually levy the following tolls for its uphold, viz., two pennies from every horseman; one penny from every footman; two pennies for every beast carrying a load or sack of victual; one penny for every beast carrying a load of salt, fish, fowls, and other things of that kind; one penny for every horse or other beast; one penny for every ox and cow, and any of that kind; one penny for every four sheep; four pennies for every beast's load of whatsoever merchandise; one penny for every sack; and for all other things equal and like tolls and customs, "according to the use and practice in times bygone, used at the said Bridge of Earn."

With two rickety bridges to superintend, the Perth folks acquitted themselves as far as their limited means would go. They did what they could with the "precious jewel of the kingdom:" they appear to have set up a temporary wooden bridge over the old ruins; but ever and anon this new erection played them sad tricks. Thus the local *Chronicle* states that on 22d September, 1601, "there fell a reik [probably an arch] of the timber Bridge of Tay with twa men, ane horse, and ane load. One of the men was gotten safe again with the horse and the load. But the other man,

called Lamb, drowned in the water." In consequence of this calamity, the Town Council assembled next day and took steps for the immediate repair of the Bridge; but, to their surprise and indignation, found that there was every likelihood of their Treasurer, Robert Matthew, failing or refusing to make forthcoming the necessary funds: whereupon it was formally ordered that "the Treasurer furnish the expenses for repairing the part of the bridge now fallen down, and in case of refusal that he be warded [imprisoned] until he refund the same." The Treasurer refused and went to ward. He had likewise failed to defray some other charges, and at a meeting of Council, on the 24th, he was ordained to "remain in ward until he satisfy the Commissioners sent to Cupar and Dunfermline." But it was now evident that the erection of a proper stone bridge could not much longer be deferred. King James was very favourable to such an undertaking. At his instance, the town was exempted for eleven years from payment of all public taxes,—the amount of which taxes annually being ordained to be applied towards the Bridge; and subsequently the King's succession to the English throne, in 1603, opened up a new prospect of farther assistance. In 1604, Mr William Cowper, one of the ministers of Perth (and afterwards Bishop of Galloway) was sent by the Town Council "to England to his Majesty, to crave support to the Brig of Tay;" and the King ordered that £7000 Scots should be paid in annual instalments of £1000 for the furtherance of the work. Encouraged by the royal bounty, the Magistrates engaged the services of a famous architect of the day, John Mylne, who was Master Mason to King James VI.; and whose fathers had held the same office under successive Kings of Scotland since James III. All matters were arranged for the building of a new bridge; and on 17th July, 1605, as the *Chronicle of Perth* tells us, "John Mylne and his men entered to the Bridge work."*

* Archbishop Spottiswoode's *History of the Church of Scotland* (Spottiswoode Society), vol. i., p. 149; *The Muses*

THE BRIDGE OF PERTH.—Part 3rd.

—In those days it did so proudly stand,
O'erlooking both the river and the land,
So fair, so high, a bridge for many ages
Most famous; but alas ! now through the rages
Of furious swelling waters thrown in deep.

The Muses Threnodie.

THE erection of a new Bridge of Tay was therefore begun, under hopeful auspices, in the summer of 1605; the architect choosing a new site, a little north of the old, with the view of giving the fabric additional stability. It seems certain that former bridges had abutted at the foot of the High Street; and here we must notice a recent discovery. In the month of September, 1869, when the public drain was being excavated along Tay Street, the workmen in digging opposite the east front of the Post Office, came upon a mass of masonry, about three feet under the level of the street, which was generally considered to be the abutment or land-pier of an ancient bridge. It was in a line with the south side of High Street—was 24 feet broad—and its foundation lay some 20 feet below the street. The north and south sides of the building were of well-dressed blocks of red sandstone, some of which bore mason marks, and the body was a solid mass, made by running in hot lime—a practice of considerable antiquity. Very probably this was the remnant of an old bridge; but John Mylne seeing a defect in the site, chose another, as we have said, somewhat northwards. According to Mr Henry Buist's Plan of the City, drawn in 1765 (preserved in the Perth Museum), and Mr William Macfarlane's Map, published in 1792, Mylne's bridge crossed the Tay rather obliquely, in a north-easterly direction, from a point opposite the old prison,

Threnodie; Pitscottie's *Cronicles of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 529; Moyses' *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 26; Perth Charters and Town Council Records; *The Chronicle of Perth*.

passing over the lower portion of what is now the "Stanners" island, and having its eastern landing immediately north of the road in lower Bridgend leading to the river-side. To secure a proper position, Mylne should have gone still more to the north, for the result proved that his new site was really no improvement on the old.

The work proceeded; and the Council used every endeavour to procure funds to carry it on. The Scottish Parliament, held at Perth, in the beginning of July, 1606—afterwards known as the *Red Parliament*, because of the scarlet cloaks worn by the nobility in the riding or procession—enacted a new scheme of national taxation. As the town of Perth had already been relieved, by royal warrant, from payment of taxation for the space of eleven years, the Magistrates conceived that the new imposts fell within the exemption; but the Exchequer refusing to adopt this view, and insisting upon payment of the first quota, the Magistrates consigned the sum demanded of them; stopped the Bridge work; and in September, 1607, carried the following appeal to the foot of the throne:—

Most gracious Sovereign, above all your Highness' subjects in this your Majesty's oldest kingdom, we have cause to esteem your Majesty as our father, yea and as the breath of our nostrils; for, besides the common reasons for which others of the land may glory that they have interest in your Highness' deliverance among us,—our commonwealth, ourself, our children, were most graciously delivered from utter exterminion; our liberties, given at the first by your Highness' most noble progenitors, worn almost without vigour, revived by yourself; so that your grace is restored *urbi prope modum* . . . [part illegible] . . . *illud quondam vigintatis etatis*, our debates with our neighbours for the privilege of our water of Tay, your Highness as a Solomon, indeed a Prince of Peace and Wisdom, timeously removed, we had cause to know, *quam difficiles sent exitus veterum ingiorum*, and therefore were the more comforted at your Majesty's fatherly foresight, whereby for your Highness' departure from us, *cause Diu fluctanti tandem stabilem terminem quasi divino ore* And now for the experience of your Highness' most loving affection towards us makes us bold to crave that your Highness would not withdraw your helping hand from that work whereunto your Majesty had put it; for, at your Highness' command, we have begun the building of the Brig of Tay, and has brought it ane gude way forward without the help of any,

saving your Majesty. We received upon our suit, directed to your Majesty, at Whitehall, the grant of seven thousand pounds money of this realm, whilk is in sic sort paid, that every year we receive one thousand pounds thereof: and while that your Highness was resident among us, Your Majesty granted to us, for furtherance of that work, exemptions from taxations for eleven years, whereof the most part are past already. This your Majesty's most princely favour made the people the more willing to contribute of their own, till now that the Lords of your Highness' Council will not allow the same without your Majesty's special command, whilk, gif it be directed, they have promised to give their willing consent thereunto, and therefore we crave that your Majesty would direct commandment to them, otherwise the payment thereof by our people will compel us to interrupt the work. As to us, we have no more to offer to your highness than ourself; or, gif it be possible we can do any more than we are, we vow to your Majesty the multiplication of our best thoughts and affections in your Highness' service, wishing the same mind in all your Majesty's subjects, than the whilk we know that your Majesty craves nothing more, being a King, who has always thought that *ama . . . dili . . . est imperio*, and therefore has ever loved among your Majesty's well-affected subjects *sine contemptu facilis, sine terrore reverendus*. And therefore wishing from our hearts now, and in our daily prayers, that your Majesty may long reign over us, protected by Almighty God from all your enemies, we rest, commending to your Highness all our most humble services, your most humble and obedient servants:

ROBERT MATHEW, *Baillie*.

JAMES DRUMMOND, *Moderator*.

JAMES ADAMSONE, *Dene of Gild*.

HENRY ELDER, *Clerk*.

Perth, 7 Septembris, 1607.

This paper shews that the "conscript fathers" of the Fair City were proficient in the adulatory art which was so grateful to the overweening self-conceit of the British Solomon. His Majesty received the petition graciously, and gave full effect to its prayer, by sending a Mandate to the Scottish Privy Council to grant the exemption sought,—if they obtained a satisfactory report from Lords Balmerino and Scone, the latter of whom was then Provost of Perth.

Apud Edinburgh, xxvij die mensis January, 1608.

The whilk day, the Letter underwritten, signed by the King's most excellent Majesty, was presented unto the Lords of his Majesty's Secret Council: of the whilk Letter the tenor follows:—

"JAMES REX. Right trusty and well-beloved cousins

and Councillors, we greet you well. Whereas before our coming furth of that kingdom, upon suit made to us for some supply to the re-edifying of the Bridge of St Johnstoun, we were pleased to grant that burgh, who did undertake that work, a special Warrant of Exemption from all taxes and subsidies for certain years to come: and as we would be loth that that burgh should enjoy any such favour, without there were likelihood of their intention to perfect that work, so gif they do intend to accomplish the same, we will be unwilling to retrench or call back ony part of our former intended liberality; and therefore our pleasure and will is that you shall give commission to the Lords Balmerino and Scone to take trial anent the building of that bridge; and gif in their report back they do certify you that they find the town of Perth doing their diligence, and that there is hope of the doing and fully accomplishing of the fabric of that bridge, then we would have you to allow of that our former Warrant granted for their exemption from all subsidies, and to discharge our Collector of this late taxation of all troubling and charging of them therefor, but they to have liberty to retain the same in their own hands for the furthering and helping forward of the work of their said bridge, whereanent thir presents, as well unto you as to our said Collector, shall be warrant sufficient. And so we bid you farewell. From our Court at Royston, the eighteenth of October, 1607."

The direction upon the back of the said Letter:—"To our trusty and well-beloved cousins and Councillors, the Earl of Dunfermline, our Chancellor, and remanent Lords and others of our Council of Estate in our kingdom of Scotland."

Whilk Letter being opened and read in the said Lords' audience, and they acknowledging his Majesty's most gracious, princely, and liberal disposition for the furtherance of the said work of the Brig of St Johnstoun, whilk is a work both necessary and honourable for the country, and therewithal having had the report and relation of the said James, Lord of Balmerino, and David, Lord of Scone, bearing that the inhabitants of the said burgh are doing their diligence for perfecting and accomplishing the said work, and that already they have almost perfected two pillars, and that there is a very great likelihood and hope of the full accomplishing of the said work: and the said Lords being well advised, as well with his Majesty's Letter foresaid, as with the report and relation of the said Lords of Balmerino and Scone, therefore the said Lords of Secret Council following his Majesty's most gracious will, pleasure, and direction in this matter, allows of the former warrant, liberty, and exemption granted to the said burgh of Perth fra payment of all taxation, and approves the same in all points, heads, and circumstances thereof, and discharges the Collectors of the present taxations fra all troubling or charging of the Magistrates of the said burgh for payment of their parts

of the same taxations; and gives liberty to the said Magistrates to retain their parts of the said taxations in their own hands, for advancing and setting forward of the said work; and ordains the sums of money consigned by them for their parts of the first term's payment of the late taxation granted to his Majesty in the Parliament holden at Perth, in the month of July, 1^m vj^c and six years, to be delivered and given up again to them by the persons in whose hands it was consigned, to the effect it may be bestowed and employed upon the work foresaid.

Vastly encouraged by the generous manner in which King and Privy Council dealt by them,—and there can be no doubt that the influence of the Provost, Lord Scone, had gone a far way in the matter,—the inhabitants of Perth zealously resumed their undertaking. But we may suppose that the operations were frequently interrupted by the vagaries of old Father Tay, whose mood was peculiarly variable. A great mischief happened early in the spring of 1608. The winter had been hard, and the Tay was frozen; but when the long-expected thaw came, the breaking up of the ice proved fatal to the timber-bridge. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon of Sunday, the 21st February, the frail bridge gave way to the shocks of successive ice-bergs, and was carried in fragments down the river. On Monday, the Town Council agreed to convene, next day, “to take order with the timber Brig, which had fallen yesterday, being Sunday, at eleven hours forenoon, by reason of the great ice.” We next hear of more money being wanted. The Town Council, on 8th August, 1608, gave “orders to go to Edinburgh for money for the Brig.” That same autumn the plague broke out in Perth, and this dire visitation must have diverted the attention of the Magistrates from their building. But when the pestilence passed away, they renewed their applications to Government for pecuniary aid, and the good word of Lord Scone, who was still Provost, doubtless smoothed their way to success. A large contribution was now granted from the national funds. The Parliament, which sat at Edinburgh, on 24th June, 1609, passed an Act empowering Sir James Hay of Kingask, the King's Comptroller, to pay to the Provost, Bailies, and Town

Council of Perth, the sum of 5,000 marks annually for seven years, to commence on 1st November, "for bigging of their Brig ;" and the money was to be paid without any reference to the completion of the Bridge in a shorter period than the seven years, "seeing it is understood to the Estates that the burgh of Perth is impignorat in great sums of money for bigging of their Brig already, and that the foresaid haill sum will not complete the work of the said Brig."

When, however, the Bridge of Tay was approaching completion, a heavy disaster befel the Bridge of Earn,—the reparation of which had evidently been gone about in a very perfunctory manner. "Upon Saturday, the 22^d day of January, 1614," says the *Chronicle of Perth*, "the north-west pend and bow of the Brig of Earn fell down, being evil bigged fra the beginning, filled only with clay and yeard, and but ony blind pend, as the Brig of Tay has been in the same manner founded. The burgh and shire, with all diligence, caused David Jack and David Millie, craftsmen, put up the same with timber work." Next year, the progress of the Bridge of Tay must have been much impeded by floods in the river and by severe weather. "Upon the —day of January, 1615 years, being Thursday," says the *Chronicle*, "the water of Tay, by weets (rains) and sleet, waxed so great that it covered haill our North Inch, the Muirton Haugh, and almost all the South Inch : continued fra Thursday in the morning to the morn thereafter : men rowing with boats in the same North Inch, taking forth sheep that were in peril of drowning." Frost followed the inundation. "February 21st. This year preceding," continues our authority, "the frost was lang looked for before it came. When it came"—to gratify the citizens' expectations,—"it continued sae lang, that the water of Tay being all frozen above and beneath the brig, that there was daily passage above the brig, next the North Inch, both for horse and men, and beneath the brig, fornent the Earl of Errol's lodging and the shore for men. It continued so till the 25 day of February, that cobellars,

who rowed on the water"—boatmen who ferried between Perth and Bridgend with cobs, after the wooden bridge was destroyed—"being thereby prejudged of their commodity, in the night time broke the ice at the entry, and stayed the passage"—prevented the people from crossing on the ice. "Upon Fastren's E'en, the 21 of February, there was two puncheons of Bordeaux wine carried, sting on ling, on men's shoulders, on the ice, at the midst of the North Inch, the weight of the puncheon and the bearers estimated to three score twelve stone weight." The ice, however, seems to have broken up without occasioning any damage. But great snow-storms and frosts came on in March and May. "Upon Monday at night, the 6 day of March," says the *Chronicle*, "ane vehement snow came on, and continued to Wednesday thereafter, at whilk time by 12 hours in the day, it begowth [began] of new, and continued so vehement night and day, to the—of March, that during the hail time, mixed with frosts, no travel or little passage was there for either horse or man; on the whilk Wednesday, divers horse and men perished and died. Upon the seventh day of May, great snow and frost, whereby no travel for horse nor man." But when these stormy times were over, the Bridge-work progressed; and on the 7th November, 1616, "the inlaying the keystone of the last arch of the Brig of Tay" was accomplished. No farther obstruction or delay intervened; and the Bridge was wholly finished in 1617, previous, as would appear, to the 5th July, when King James visited the Fair City. The Bridge had eleven arches (the last of which cost 3000 marks), and there was a gate at the entry from the town, above which the Royal arms were displayed before the King's arrival. On the north side was a stair leading down to the river, called the *Lady's Steps*,—which stair was uncovered during the recent erection of the river wall along the northern division of Tay Street. There was a flight of about nine steps, ten feet wide, with the stones placed sideways, so that a considerable number of stones were required for each step.

“This Bridge,” says Mr Cant, in his Notes to Adamson’s *Muses Threnodie*, “was certainly a piece of fine and strong workmanship.” In pronouncing such an *ipse dixit*, Mr Cant laboured under total misapprehension concerning a structure which he never saw, and evidently knew very little about. The Bridge was not a strong fabric; and we are quite justified in characterising it as no honour to the architect and builder, eminent though he was. The design was bad, and the essential workmanship apparently no better. Look back to what is said by the contemporary annalist in the *Chronicle of Perth*, in January, 1614, when “the north-west pend and bow of the Brig of Earn fell down, being evil bigged (ill built) fra the beginning, filled only with clay and yead (yird, earth), and but (without) ony blind pend (dry arch), as the Brig of Tay has been in the same manner founded.” What now becomes of Mr Cant’s flourish about “fine and strong workmanship?” The Bridge of Tay was not only superficial in its foundation, but it had another fatal fault—it was too low, and therefore unequal to meet the swelling of a river like the Tay; for when a great inundation came, “the water had not free issue through” the eleven narrow and low-browed arches, “but rose above them, and being thus gorged, its force and weight bore against the upper part of the structure, and covered the key-stones, and then the whole gave way.”

Mylne’s Bridge was finished, we say, in 1617. Four years passed; and soon dawned the morn when the “fine and strong workmanship” underwent the crucial test. A terrible inundation of the Tay, on Sunday the 14th of October, 1621, wrought much destruction in and around Perth. The harvest had been extremely wet, and the rains at last raised the Tay to an appalling height. “There was such an innundation of water,” says the *Chronicle of Perth*, “as the like in no man’s remembrance was seen, both in regard of the high rising in the west side, as also of the sudden coming of it, being Saturday all day weeting after. Before twelve of the clock of the night, all the people in the Castle

Gavell and West Port were wet in their beds, and wakened with water to the waist in their floors. It seemed the windows of heaven and fountains of the deep were opened. It carried away the eleven bow Brig of Tay. It was within one foot in height from the Cross of Perth. It took down the gable of the Tolbooth. It carried away all Low's-work, being of admirable strength and structure. This it did to the common street of the town by divers and many particular men's losses. The people of the Castle Gavell had died about three hundred souls, gif a boat had not been borne by men from the Spey Tower to it. God let us never see the like of it again ! It continued Sunday all day. The wind and weat increased. No passage by any Port, yet we being humbled all that week with fasting and prayer. Twice preaching every day. God heard us, that the water decreased, glory be to his Majesty ! Many made vows for their safety, xii. abstinence and thankfulness." More details are furnished by the special minute on the subject drawn up by order of the Kirk-session. The rain began on Friday, the 12th, about ten o'clock forenoon, and continued all that day and Saturday, whilst a tempestuous wind blew from the east; but the flood began to subside on Monday afternoon, and continued to do so notwithstanding a renewed outburst of wind and rain. The rescue of the inhabitants about the Castle Gable was afterwards rewarded by the Kirk-session bestowing upon "Henry Moss, boatman, a double angel, in recompense of his jeopardies, pains, and travels, in saving many persons from perishing by the late inundation of waters outwith the Castle Gavell Port by means of his boat, transporting them therewith from their houses full of water into the town."

Superstition and bigotry had their own views of this woeful calamity. It was openly pronounced by the strict Presbyterian party as a *judgment* upon the town: at least, Calderwood, the Kirk historian, says so, and we shall quote his account of the matter :—

The weather was very unseasonable at and since the last

Parliament, till the end of August, which made the harvest late. The unseasonable weather beginneth again in the beginning of October. The sea swelled and roared; waters and brooks were aloft. Houses, and women and children, and much corn, was carried away with the spates of water. The river of Tay swelled so high, that it went over the fair stately bridge beside Perth, newly complete. In the meantime, the water of Almond, and a loch by-west the town, come down upon the town on the west hand, which was as dangerous as the river on the east. The town was environed with water a mile in compass, so that no man could pass out for five or six days, neither could the inhabitants go from house to house, because the waters covered the whole streets. Ten arches or bows of the bridge, with their pillars, were broken down upon the 14th of October, and one left standing, for a monument of God's wrath. The young children were let down at windows in cords to boats. Their stuff, malt and meal, was spoiled. The people ascribed this judgment inflicted upon the town to the iniquity committed at a General Assembly holden there. In this town was holden also another General Assembly, the year 1596, whereupon followed the schism which yet endureth. In this town was also holden the Parliament at which Bishops were erected, and the Lords rode in their scarlet gowns.

The inundation was "a judgment," it seems, because of General Assemblies and a Parliament held at Perth, in the deliberations and decisions of which, good or bad, the community of the town had only an infinitesimal share! But there had neither been General Assemblies nor Parliaments held at Berwick, and yet the Tweed there, swollen by the rains, broke down a newly-built bridge. And "those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem?" Judgment or no judgment — not the town of Perth alone, but the whole kingdom suffered sorely from that wet harvest. Severe distress existed everywhere. "This year," says the *Chronicle of Perth*, "a great scarcity of corns was through all the kingdom, and by the evil harvest and inundation that happened, and would have been greater, if abundance of foreign victual had not come in, yet it gave £12. 20 mark the bow bear, and peasemeal 16 marks." Calderwood states that "the harvest was so late, that scarce were the corns inned in the best parts of the country at

Hallowmas. There was never seen in this country in so short a time such inequality of prices of victual; never greater fear of famine, nor scarcity of seed to sow the ground. Neither was the fuel (peats) well win (dried). Every man was careful to ease himself of such persons as he might spare, and to live as retiredly as possibly he might. Pitiful was the lamentation not only of vaging (wandering) beggars, but also of honest persons." But, leaving the dearth out of account, the calamity of the inundation fell heavily enough on the Fair City. The Bridge—the pride of Perth, and the "precious jewel of the kingdom"—on which the citizens had liberally expended so much of their money, and the progress of which, during twelve long years, they had watched with the liveliest interest—was now overthrown and buried beneath the turgid waters of the Tay—only one shattered arch left standing (as Calderwood tells us), a memorial of the desolation which a single tempestuous night had wrought! Although, however, the downfall of Mylne's Bridge was not "a judgment" upon the town, the flood may perhaps be regarded as the fulfilment of popular prophecy. Some ancient Highland Seer had said:—

Tatha mhor na'an toun
Bheir I' scriob lom
Air Peart.

Which being interpreted, means

Great Tay of the waves
Shall sweep Perth bare.

And if this prediction were old enough, it might be held to refer to the inundation of 1210. But there is also a Lowland metrical prophecy, which would appear to have been familiarly known previous to 1621:—

Says the Shochie to the Ordie,
"Where shall we twa meet?"
"At the Cross o' bonny St Johnstoun,
When a' men are fast asleep!"

In our own times it has been supposed that these two prophecies still await fulfilment; but surely we may infer, with far more likelihood that, if the first one was posterior to 1210, both found fulfilment in 1621,

when, be it remarked, the water spread over the lower parts of the town at midnight, rousing the citizens from their slumbers? Mr Robert Chambers, in his *Popular Rhymes*, states:—"It is said that, on the building of the old bridge, the Cross of Bertha was taken down, and built into the central arch, with a view to fulfil, without harm, the intentions of the Shochie and Ordie, and permit the men of Perth to sleep secure in their beds." We presume that by "the old bridge" he means Mylne's Bridge; but there is no record whatever of the Cross of Perth having been taken down during the twelve years of Mylne's labours. The tradition, however, tends to prove that the Shochie and Ordie prophecy was in existence prior to 1621. We may add that in 1765 the Cross of Perth was finally taken down; but (so far as we have ever heard) the materials were not built into the new bridge.*

* *The Chronicle of Perth; Register of the Privy Council of Scotland; Perth Town Council Records; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland; The Muses Threnodie; Rev. Dr Thomson's Statistical Account of Perth; The Book of Perth; Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland (Wodrow Society), vol. vii, p. 513; Chambers's Popular Rhymes of Scotland (3d ed.), p. 52.*

THE BRIDGE OF PERTH.—Part 4th.

Who doth know,
Monsier—-but ah! mine heart can scarcely sober!—
Even that great fall the fourteenth of October,
Six hundred twenty one, repair'd may be?
And I do wish, the same that I might see:
For Britain's monarch will it sure repair,
Courage therefore, Monsier, do not despair!

The Muses Threnodie.

LAMENTABLE as was the disaster sustained by the town of Perth, the worthy citizens did not sit down and fold their hands, despairing of surmounting it. They had lost their Bridge; but they would bestir themselves and have another. Again, with stout hearts, they began at the beginning, and set about craving national aid for what was chiefly a national undertaking. As to the finances of the burgh, they were not in a satisfactory condition, and therefore could not bear any new burdens; for, the *Chronicle of Perth* notes, of date 21st September, 1623, that "the Town Council being met in the Council House, we found the town to be 20,000 marks in debt, and ten year of the tack of the Mills, Inches, and Fishings to run." The Council being straitened for funds, all the more need existed for general assistance, and the appeal for assistance met with reasonable response. The Government, on the application of the Magistrates, made a fair show of supporting the proposal for the speedy erection of another Bridge of Tay. King James issued a royal recommendation of the scheme, and promised 30,000 marks as his subscription—one third payable at Whitsunday, 1624, and the other two thirds at Whitsunday and Martinmas, 1625, respectively. The Prince of Wales (afterwards Charles I.) put down his name for 10,000 marks, payable in four instalments. Their example was followed by numbers of the nobility and gentry,—the principal subscribers being these:—

Duke of Lennox,.....	2500	marks.
Sir George Hay (Earl of Kinnoull),.....	1000	„
Earl of Mar,.....	1000	„
Earl of Roxburgh,.....	800	„
Earl of Moray,.....	800	„
Walter, Lord Scott (Earl of Buccleugh),.....	800	„
Earl of Seaforth,.....	800	„
Earl Marischal,.....	800	„
Earl of Morton,.....	800	„
Sir Thomas Hamilton (Earl of Haddington),.....	800	„
Earl of Lauderdale,.....	800	„
Earl of Linlithgow,.....	500	„
Lord Spynie,.....	400	„
Sir David Carnegie (Earl of Southesk),.....	400	„
Alexander Erskine (related to Kellie or Mar),.....	400	„
Lord Cranstoun,.....	£100	

But the subscriptions were never uplifted; for the death of the King, and of several of the subscribers—the difficulty of raising adequate funds—and the ensuing troubles between Charles I. and his subjects, altogether frustrated the building of the Bridge. In fact the “precious jewel of the kingdom” was destined not to be replaced until at the distance of a century and a-half. During this long space the communication across the Tay at Perth was carried on by means of ferry-boats; but the ferry was occasionally impassable for days together in consequence of floods in the river.

We have already read in the town’s charters that the fines in the Burgh Sheriff-Court and at the Justice-airs held in Perth were granted to the community, in perpetuity, for the upholding of the Bridge. Perth had now no Bridge at all; nevertheless, in October, 1629, these grants were formally homologated by authority, and the money thence accruing was subsequently applied to needful work in removing the ruins of the Bridge, and also in repairing the shore. The *Chronicle of Perth* thus records the matter:—

Oct. 6, 1629. Ane Justice-air halden at Perth by Sir George Auchinleck of Balmanno and Mr [Alexander Seton] of Kilcruich, Justices Depute:—Sir Thomas Hope, the King’s Advocate, being present:—whereto were summoned and compeared about 200 men; some fined, and some set free, according as probation oath of the party. There was 97 persons of this Burgh indicted, wha were referred to our ain censure, upon production and sight of our Charter, whilk was produced, and documents tane

thereupon, and found us Crowners within ourselves. As also the Lords acknowledged the fines to pertain to us, and took the Provost, Bailies, and Dean of Guild obliged to uplift the same, and apply [them] to some good use.

There were divers forestallers within the Sherifffdom, called and convened before the Justices, and our Charter, given by King Robert the Third, being produced, anent the punishing of forestallers, whilk being seen and considered (and finding that Andrew Wilson, Dean of Guild, in ane Guild Court, halden the sixth of May preceding, had convict), [the Justices] suffered them to pass free from the censure, acknowledging that we, by our Gift, had power so to do, and that the unlaws of all forestallers within the Sherifffdom, did appertain to this burgh, where-soever, or by whatsoever Judge, they shall be convict, as at this time they did. Whereupon, instruments are taken and extracted, extant among the Town's writs.

Next summer—in the month of July—"the fines that were gotten frae our neighbours at the preceding Justice-air," continues the *Chronicle*, "were bestowed on the redding of the ruins of the fallen Brig of Tay; bigging of croys for safety of the town and Inches from the violence of the water; and on the bigging of the front of fine stone, ashler work, at Monk's Tower, on the town's expenses; and for casting of the dock for crews and boats in the winter-time from danger." Meantime Sir George Hay, Viscount Dupplin, the Chancellor of Scotland (afterwards Earl of Kinnoull), to whom Gowrie House belonged, seeing the improvements going on in the immediate vicinity, "did big ane turret, or summer-house, upon the head of the room of Monk's Tower, on the town's common wall, for his pleasure, with oversight of the town and tolerance, yet I think they gave no tolerance by writ."

Four years after this, a bright gleam of hope, respecting a new Bridge of Tay, gladdened the hearts of the citizens. Charles I. paid a state visit to Scotland, in the summer of 1633. He was crowned at Holyrood, and after holding a Parliament at Edinburgh, made a progress through part of the kingdom—visiting Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunfermline (which was his birthplace), and Perth. His Majesty's entry into the Fair City took place on Monday, the 8th July. He was received with great ceremony, display, and rejoicing, and was lodged

that night in Gowrie House, which was still the property of the Chancellor, who had now been created Earl of Kinnoull. On the following day, the King went to St John's Church, and heard sermon; after which, he returned to Gowrie House, and was conducted to the top of the back wall overlooking the Tay, that he might view certain divertisements which the citizens had prepared ostensibly for his amusement, but mainly to bespeak his support to the object which lay nearest their hearts—the rebuilding of their Bridge. Opposite the wall, “a floating stage of timber, clad about with bricks,” was moored on the river: and on this nautical platform, thirteen morrice-dancers of the Glover Calling, performed their ancient sword-dance with wonderful dexterity. This spectacle was succeeded by “a comedy,” enacted by two tailor boys, David Black and George Powrie. David represented the *Tay*,—and probably was habited as a river-god, with his urn under his arm, and his locks wreathed with aquatic plants. George bore the part of *Perth*,—and may have worn a mural crown, and a mantle emblazoned with the city's spread eagle. The “comedy” began with *Tay*—apparently startled from repose by the stir, the shouting, and the martial music—demanding:—

What means this roaring and these tucking drums?
 What shouts of joy! From whence this clamour comes?
 Thus proudly bold to interrupt our rest,
 Amidst our deeps our quiet to molest.

* * * * *

Who is it then dares vilify our might,
 And thus our power and our glory slight?

And without waiting to hear whether any explanation would be offered, he proceeded to summon most of his tributaries—swift-foot Almond; Garry gliding on his gravelly ground; land-louping Lyon; troutful Tummel; break-bridge Braan; impetuous Isla; ireful Ericht: and, having exhausted the watery muster-roll, he concluded thus:—

What mean the Perthians, in their pride of mind,
 To mock our weakness, brawling in this kind?
 And think they not, how that our force before
 O'er turn'd their bridge, their bulwark, and their shore,

Their water-course, their Ward-house, common wall,
 And threat their town, their turrets, with a fall ?
 Their mother *Bertha* felt our power and rage,
 For worth and strength the glory of her age;
 Where the imperial Tyber's children stood
 Afraid, and pitch'd their tents besouth my flood :
 The Danish blood by us was borne away,
 When they were vanquish'd by the valiant Hay.

He ceased, and *Perth* took speech in hand, answering boldly:—

Yes, yes, it is the Perthian youths indeed
 Tread on thy belly now, but fear or dread,
 O'erjoy'd because they have King Charles the Great
 Within their walls, to view their ruin'd state,
 With power and love can by himself alone
 Cause bind thy belly with a bridge of stone,
 And shall thy now-divided lands unite,
 To serve his subjects with a paved street,
 Which to the conuntry shall great comfort bring,
 And make us all pray for great Charles our King.

Tay, amazed by this unexpected information, lost all his boastful pride and anger, and responded, with bated breath:—

O do I wake, or is it but a dream ?
 How do I tremble at King Charles's name !
 Then humbly here I prostrate at his feet;
 For now I see the prophecy complete.
 In elder times it long since was foretold,
 That he my streams should by a bridge infold ;
 And well I knew that none durst bar my flood,
 Nor was there any, but King Charles the Good,
 As heaven ordains. None can the fates eschew :
 Then, royal sir, I render here to you
 My low subjection, ready at command,
 And joy I'm chain'd by thy great royal hand,
 And ever vow, while I am named *Tay*,
 Not to expatiate nor o'erflow my brae.

Whereupon *Perth*, exulting in the voluntary subjection of the river-god, exclaimed to the gazing multitude:—

Come dive, my lads, the bottom of his deep !
 From henceforth he his boundaries shall keep.
 Quite spoil the treasure of his scaly store,
 Empty his streams, and throw them quite ashore.

And so the "Comedy" ended. Doubtless the King was tickled by the droll dramatic appeal to the royal purse; and perhaps he resolved in his own mind that he would by and by do something effectual towards the Bridge-building. But the story told by *Tay* about an ancient prophecy that the river should be bridged.

under the auspices of King Charles was nothing more than a clumsy fabrication got up for the nonce. Some sort of prophecy about bridging the Tay seems to have existed at this time; but it referred exclusively to a scion of the house of Kinnoull, as can be shewn. Henry Adamson's poem of *The Muses Threnodie* was first published in 1638, just five years after the King's visit; and it contains a tradition that King James I. of Scotland, hearing that a certain old dame, living in the Castle of Kinnoull, had seen Wallace and Bruce in her young days, visited her, and listened to her reminiscences of those heroes and of past times. The poem avers that she also

———— Did foretell of many things;
Of Britain's union under Scottish Kings;
And after ending of our civil feuds,
Our spears in scythes, our sword should turn in spades;
In sign whereof, there should arise a Knight
Sprung of the bloody yoke, who should of right
Possess these lands, which she then held in fee,
Who for his worth and matchless loyalty
Unto his Prince, should greatly be renown'd,
And of these lands instyl'd, and Earl be crown'd :
Whose son, in spite of Tay, should join these lands,
Firmly by stone, on either side which stands.

We find from the minutes of the Town Council that the "composer" of the comedy was Andrew Wilson, one of the Bailies of the day; and that the "two boys," Black and Powrie, received 200 marks for the "habili-ments" in which they appeared before the King.

The King went back to his English Court. But the days of Comedy soon passed away. Civil dissension arose, south and north. Tragedy, attended by Rebellion and War, rushed upon the stage, and held it long. The Fair City, which had welcomed "Charles the Good" with transports of loyalty, became the head-quarters of his enemies: and far other projects than those of Bridge-building engrossed the minds of the citizens, whose resources were steadily drained in furnishing forth armed levies to fight, in succession, the King, Montrose, and Cromwell. Even when peace came, it was the peace enforced by the iron sway of he conquering "English Sectaries;" and Perth was

half pulled down to erect—not a bridge, but a citadel on the South Inch. Perchance when the Restoration inspired high hopes of the public good, the burghers began to look forward to the attainment of that grand object which the troubles had pushed into abeyance; but so far as we have yet discovered, no decided movement on the subject was originated. Curiously enough, the first proposal that emerged for bridging the Tay, was for a bridge at the very source of the river—at Aberfeldy. In the Parliament of 1672, the following petition was presented by Sir John Campbell of Glenurchy, who became Earl of Caithness and afterwards Earl of Breadalbane :—

Unto the Lord Commissioner's Grace, and the Right Hon.
the Estates of Parliament: The humble petition of
the Laird of Glenurchy,
Sheweth,

That where your petitioner has a purpose to build a bridge over the river of Tay, near the mouth thereof, which will be of very great advantage to the country, that being one of the most public passes for droves of cattle, which yearly passes that way; and at present through the want of a bridge, the drovers are necessitated to cause the beasts swim through the river, and sundry of them are drowned: and seeing the building of the foresaid bridge will put your petitioner to considerable expenses, and that thereby he will lose the benefit of a boat which he has upon the river,—

May it, therefore, please your Grace and Lo: to authorise and give a warrant to the petitioner, or such as he shall appoint, to uplift and exact the customs following, viz., for every loadened horse, eight pennies; for every horse, cow, nolt, and soume [generally *five*] of sheep, six pennies; and for every person on foot passing with a burden, two pennies.

Upon this petition, the deliverance of Parliament was pronounced in these terms :—

Edr, 10 September, 1672.

The Laird of Glenurchie, intending to build a bridge over the river of Tay near the mouth thereof, is to find caution for that end, and the bridge being built, is warranted to raise for every loadened horse, 8 pennies; for every horse, cow or soume of sheep, 4d; and for every person on foot with a burden, two pennies; for the space of thirty years.

Although ample warrant for the undertaking was thus granted, some obstacles seem to have interposed; for

Glenorchy, although he lived to a great age, and played an important part in his country's history, never accomplished his laudable design; and there was no bridge at Aberfeldy, until the strong and stately one, still spanning the river, was erected by Marshal Wade.

Here we shall pause in our historical retrospect of bridge-building, and essay somewhat to relieve the monotony and tedium of dry details by adverting to a singular Highland superstition respecting bridges. Throughout the Lowlands it used to be a firmly-rooted popular fancy that running waters and bridges broke the spells, and neutralized the malefic powers, of witches and fairies. "A running stream they darena cross,"—as was notably exemplified in the case of honest Tam o' Shanter; and "the running stream dissolved the spell" of the Goblin Page in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. This belief was likewise common in the north; but there, however, another and peculiar *freit* prevailed, and perhaps still prevails—namely, that "friends or lovers who part on a bridge never meet again." This supposed fatality is mentioned by Miss Catherine Sinclair, in her *Shetland and the Shetlanders* (1840), when speaking of the ancient Bridge of Balgownie, which Byron, when a boy, never passed without awe: and the superstition has been woven by Mrs D. Ogilvy, into a beautiful and pathetic ballad in her *Book of Highland Minstrelsy*. As this ballad has a local interest, being associated with Marshal Wade's bridge at Aberfeldy, and as probably it is not so widely known in Perthshire as it deserves to be, we take leave to quote it entire:—

THE PARTING ON THE BRIG.

Oh! Hamish, lover of my youth and husband of my vows,
When shall I loose the maiden snood from these betrothed
brows?

When will you clasp your mournful bride, whose hopes in
absence wane?

For they who parted on a brig maun never meet again!

It was upon the Brig of Tay ye took the bountith fee,

It was upon the Brig of Tay ye looked your last on me;

A year has dragged its heavy course since that ill-omened
night,

But heavier weigh upon my soul the bodings of a fight.

The shearing in our harvest-field sped busily that day,
When ye were sent with horse and cart down to the Brig
of Tay;

There sold ye birthright liberty for less than Esau's hire,
Nor thought of Elsie Robertson, your minnie, or your
sire.

Your tongue was slow to tell the tale that saddened your
return,

Ye came not to our trysting-tree that grows beside the
burn,

In silence ye departed from the home where ye were bred,
And streaming were your minnie's eyes, and bowed your
father's head.

But I went following after you down to the Brig of Tay,
And there I clung unto your breast and woeful words did
say,

And might have won you—but, alas! came marching
through the glen

The best and bravest of the clan, all picked and chosen
men.

By King and country were they sworn unto the death to
fight,

An iron-hearted band they trod, though self-exiled that
night;

Red grew the cheek of him I clasped, he tore himself away,
And left me standing on the brig, the aged Brig of Tay.

Fair art thou, water of Moness, with many tinkling falls,
And proud, old Aberfeldy, rise thy ancient piers and walls,
And glorious are ye, heather hills, along the strath that
wind—

But deep I cursed you in my heart when I was left behind.

The moon from broad-browed Ferragon her silver pennon
spread,

The frosty stars went shivering to follow where she led;

The troops moved onward to the south, the pibroch died
away,

And still I leaned upon the brig, the aged Brig of Tay.

That stalwart band in perils now is tossing on the wave,
Fate surges onward to the field of many a bloody grave;
Ah me! I fear thou art foredoomed to fall on battle-plain,
For they who part upon a brig maun never meet again.

Upon the muirland yesternight I heard the Tahusk cry;
It was no voice of earthly bird, no living thing was nigh.
I had a vision yesternight, thy shrouded form and stark,
While sleeplessly I lay and stared right onward through the
dark.

Our minister from Holy Writ brings promises to cheer,
He speaks such gracious comfortings as should dispel my
fear,

He tells me Hands Omnipotent can ward the blows that
 strike,
 That eyes of Love Divinest watch o'er thee and me alike,
 Yet ever come those childish words by childish fancy
 caught,
 Words far too terrible for jest, or e'en to scorn in thought;
 Whene'er I think of meeting you they peal across my
 brain,
 "Ye parted on the Brig of Tay, ye maunna meet again!"
 Having made this illustrative extract from a volume of
 Scottish poetry,—than which there is none other of our
 day so worthy, for national spirit and true genius, of
 being ranked with Aytoun's *Lays of the Scottish Cava-*
liers,—we shall now pursue our course undeviatingly
 with the story of the Bridge of Perth.*

* *The Chronicle of Perth; The Spottiswoode Miscellany*,
 vol. ii., p. 319; *The Muses Threnodie*; Perth Town Council
 Records; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. viii.,
 appendix, p. 20; Miss Sinclair's *Shetland and the Shetland-*
ers, p. 210; Mrs Ogilvy's *Book of Highland Minstrelsy*,
 p. 93.

THE BRIDGE OF PERTH.—Part 5th.

—— Fair bridge, the glorious gift
Of Smeaton to the Tay.

William Clyde.

FOR a century and a-half, as already said, no bridge spanned the Tay at Perth, and all communication between the opposite sides of the river was conducted by ferry-boats. The ferry was often interrupted by floods, and sometimes accidents happened to the boats and passengers. About thirty boats plied on the ferry, which was one of the most frequented in Scotland; but when occasion demanded, several of the boats were employed in the capacity of lighters for merchant vessels in the river.

From a very early period, a small village must have existed at the east end of the Bridge. Perhaps it was in this neighbourhood that lepers had their assigned quarter when the leprosy prevailed in the country; as our old laws ordained hospitals for the diseased to be provided "outwith the burghs;" for we find that long after the malady had disappeared, a tack of "the *Lipper-croft*, be-east the Tay brig, beside the Potterhill," was granted, on 12th May, 1595, to Andrew Mercer, Potterhill, for thirteen years, at 33s 4d annually. In the Perth Kirk-Session Register, under date 6th March, 1620, occurs a casual reference to "the *Leper-croft*, at the east end of the Brig of Tay;" and it is designated as *Lipper-croft* in subsequent deeds: the word *Lipper* being the old Scots form of *Leper*. As to the Bridgend of the latter part of the ferry era, the Rev. Mr Dunbar, minister of Kinnoull, describes it, in the old *Statistical Account*, as having been "a poor, paltry village, consisting of a few houses, chiefly for the accommodation of the boatmen and their families. The houses were low-built, ill-lighted, and covered with straw thatch." During the seventeenth century, however, Bridgend would seem to have consisted of

more than a few thatched cottages. People of grade above the common—probably not many, but some such persons, resided there. Thus the Register of Deeds contains a Contract of Marriage between Peter Campsie, burgess of Perth, at the east end of the Brig of Tay, and Janet Gibson, his spouse, and Andrew Campsie, their eldest son, on the one part, and James Mercer of Clevage, and Liliias Mercer, his sister-german, on the other part, for the marriage of the said Andrew and Liliias; in contemplation whereof, the said Peter Campsie and his spouse agreed to infest the said Andrew and Liliias in conjunct fee, and their heirs, in a malt-barn, kiln and coble, corn-barn and yard, at the east end of the Brig of Tay, in the barony of Kinnoull, reserving the granter's liferent thereof to the extent of one-half; also in a house beside the said barn and yard on the west thereof, and also in a new house lately built by the granter, and two laigh houses adjacent thereto, at the east end of the Brig of Tay: and also the said Peter engages to pay to his said son and his future spouse, 2000 marks, and the said James Mercer engages to pay £1000 of tocher with his said sister: which contract is dated at Perth and Clevage, 7th and 8th January, 1613. The Register also contains a bond by the foresaid Andrew Campsie, Notary, at the east end of the Brig of Tay, and Liliias Mercer, his spouse, and Constantine Hynde, burgess of Perth, as cautioner, to William Hamilton, merchant-burgess of Perth, for 200 marks secured by an annualrent of 20 marks furth of their land at the east end of the Brig of Tay, under reversion; said bond dated at Perth, 24th March, 1620. Moreover, about the middle of the same century, Bridgend was the seat of a number of weavers, who carried on their handicraft to such an extent as to arouse the alarm of the Weaver Incorporation of Perth, of whom the Bridgend websters held themselves independent, though supplying customers in the town of Perth itself with their manufacture. In 1669, the Incorporation, claiming the usual exclusive privileges, sought at law to restrain their competitors across the

water by virtue of the Act of Parliament, 1592, which seemed wholly on their side:—

154. *Exercise of Crafts within suburbs adjacent to Burghs is forbidden.*

Forsameikle as the exercise of Craftsmen in the suburbs of the free burghs is not only hurtful to all our Sovereign Lord's lieges, for the insufficiency of the work, but also ministrates great occasion to prentices and servants in free burghs undutifully to leave their masters, and to remain and abide in the said suburbs, thereby substracting themselves fra the jurisdiction of the Provost and Bailies of the said burghs; and also free Craftsmen resident within the said burghs are greatly damnified, seeing they bear ane great part of the charges of the burgh, and the advantage of the work that should relieve them is drawn away to the said suburbs: Therefore, our Sovereign Lord and hail Estates of this present Parliament statutes, declares, and decerns that in all time coming there shall be na exercise of crafts in the suburbs adjacent to the said burghs; but that the same shall cease in all times hereafter; and that it shall be leasum [lawful] to the Provost and Bailies of the said burghs, and their deputes and officers, to intromit with all the works that shall be found wrought, or in working, whether the materials thereof appertain to the craftsman himself, or to whatsoever person, and to escheat the same, to be applied to the common warks of the burgh next adjacent to the said suburbs.

With this Act in their hands, the Perth weavers went into the Court of Session, expecting an absolute decree in their favour. But their rivals, along with the Earl of Kinnoull, their feudal superior, appeared in defence, and pled that the Act founded on had fallen into desuetude, and was of no force or effect: that even though it were in full force, Bridgend was not within the category of "suburbs" mentioned, being within the barony of Kinnoull and Pitcullen; for where suburbs are situated in any Burgh of Regality or Barony, or within any barony having no burgh, the privilege of these erections warranted the exercise of craftsmen, so that the websters of Bridgend being subjects of the Barony of Kinnoull and Pitcullen, the websters of Perth had no right to interfere with them: and that the Perth websters were not an incorporated body at all. After further discussion of the case, the pursuers produced a decree of the Courts, whereby weavers in the suburbs of Edinburgh were prohibited from working for persons within the Liberties of Edinburgh; whereupon the

Lords decided that the Bridgend websters should not weave for customers within the Liberties of Perth, but only for those without the burgh. There the litigation terminated. From the above facts, it may be safely assumed that only in the eighteenth century did Bridgend answer the description given of it by its parish minister.

But after various futile efforts to promote the erection of a bridge, the time at length came when the long-felt want was to be supplied—a want felt not only in the locality but throughout the kingdom. After several schemes had come to nothing, the matter was vigorously taken up by a liberal and public-spirited nobleman, Thomas, Earl of Kinnoull, through whose indefatigable exertions the project was brought to a successful issue. The old prophecy was to be fulfilled at last. Lord Kinnoull influenced the Government of the day in favour of the object, and also enlisted general support. Government gave a sum of £4000 from the annexed estates, and £700 yearly for fourteen years from said estates, amounting to £9800, making a total of £13,800; and a public subscription realized the farther sum of £7298 17s 6d. The following is a list of the chief contributions to the Bridge,—with those of the Perth Incorporations :—

Grants from Government,	£13,800	0	0
The Town of Perth,	2,000	0	0
The Royal Burghs of Scotland,	500	0	0
The Earl of Kinnoull,	400	0	0
The Viscount Stormont,	300	0	0
Duke of Athole,	200	0	0
Duke of Queensberry,	200	0	0
Earl of Bute,	200	0	0
John, Lord Gray,	200	0	0
James Stewart M'Kenzie, Lord Privy Seal,	200	0	0
George Dempster of Dunnichen,	150	0	0
Duke of Buccleugh,	100	0	0
Duchess of Argyle,	100	0	0
Andrew Drummond of Machany,	100	0	0
Patrick Crawford of Errol,	100	0	0
Adam Drummond of Megginch,	100	0	0
General Græme of Gorthie,	100	0	0
Sir Lau. Dundas of Carse,	100	0	0
Earl of Hopetoun,	100	0	0
Earl of Breadalbane,	100	0	0
Duke of Montrose,	100	0	0

Duke of Argyle,	£50	0	0
Duke of Gordon,	50	0	0
Earl of Morton,	50	0	0
Earl of Marchmont,	50	0	0
Earl of Aberdeen,	50	0	0
Earl of Findlater,	50	0	0
Charles Craigie of Glendoick,	50	0	0
Robert Haldane of Gleneagles,	50	0	0
David Moncrieffe of Moredun,	50	0	0
Archibald Ogilvy of Inchmartine,	50	0	0
Archbishop of York,	50	0	0
Earl of Panmure,	50	0	0
John M'Kenzie of Delvine,	50	0	0
Earl of Fife,	50	0	0
William Mercer of Aldie,	50	0	0
Robert Oliphant of Rossie,	50	0	0
Dr Stewart Thriepland of Barnhill,	30	0	0
Lord John Murray of Pitnacree,	30	0	0
The Guildry Incorporation of Perth,	26	5	0
The Wright Incorporation of Perth,	12	12	0
The Tailor Incorporation of Perth,	10	10	0
The Glover Incorporation of Perth,	10	10	0
The Convener Court of Perth,	10	0	0
The Shoemaker Incorporation of Perth,	5	0	0
The Baker Incorporation of Perth,	5	0	0

The amount of money subscribed being amply sufficient to warrant the beginning of the work, Lord Kinnoull was entrusted with the duty of selecting an Architect, and he forthwith secured the services of the celebrated John Smeaton, who had designed and superintended the erection of the Eddystone Lighthouse. Fortunately, at the time Mr Smeaton was applied to, he had no great work at hand; for, as stated by one of his biographers, he “appears to have been by no means fully employed as an engineer for several years after the completion of the Eddystone Lighthouse.” He was brought to Perth. He sounded the river, and, after full inspection, decided on fixing the site of the proposed Bridge still farther north than Mylne’s abortive erection. The plans which Mr Smeaton submitted were approved of: and in 1765 an Act of Parliament was passed, whereby Commissioners were appointed, and the necessary tolls fixed for meeting the balance of expenses and maintaining the bridge. The Commissioners were empowered to take off the pontage of one farthing on foot-passengers, when the money which they might borrow for building the bridge was paid,

with the interest; and also to take off all other tolls when a free capital of £1500 was raised therefrom, which capital should be laid out on interest for the necessary support and reparation of the edifice in all time coming. The bridge was commenced in the summer of 1766, and the foundation-stone was laid in September. "On the 23d July, 1766, the wooden piles for the intended bridge over the Tay," says a local contemporary notice, "were begun to be driven, in presence of the Magistrates and a considerable number of the inhabitants of the town; and on the 13th September, same year, Thomas Hay, Earl of Kinnoull, accompanied by William Stewart, Esq., Provost of Perth, the Magistrates and Council, and the Members of the Bridge Committee, proceeded to the other side of the river by water, and there in the eastern pillar within the river, his Lordship laid the first stone of the intended new bridge by striking it with a mallet, in the presence of a great number of spectators. The foundation-stone was a large square hewn stone without any inscription. When the ceremony was over they returned by water to Mrs Hickenshaw's, where an elegant entertainment was provided on the occasion." Thus was the undertaking inaugurated. When Mr Pennant made his tour through Scotland, in 1769, he visited Perth, and saw the bridge in process of building. "Cross the Tay on a temporary bridge; the stone bridge, which is to consist of nine arches, being at this time unfinished: the largest arch is seventy-six feet wide; when complete, it promises to be a most magnificent structure. The river here is very violent, and admits of scarce any navigation above; but ships of 120 tons burthen come as high as the town; and if flat-bottomed of even 200 tons."

The history of the Bridge-work from first to last is summarily and accurately related in a minute contained in the Kirk-session Book of Kinnoull. "The foundation-stone of Tay Bridge," says this account, "was laid in the bottom of the second pillar from Bridgend, in presence of the Right Honourable the Earl of Kinnoull,

the Sheriff-Depute of the Shire, the Provost and Magistrates of Perth, and several other gentlemen, on the 13th September, 1766, between the hours of one and two afternoon. The middle arch was begun, August 21, 1769; the keystone laid, September 1; the arch finished, September 5; the last arch, being the second from Perth side, was finished, and the two lands joined, May 26, 1770, a quarter before six in the evening. At the building of this arch two of the barrow-men were thrown from the top of the pulley, and killed—one on the spot, and the other died next day. Those were the only workmen who lost their lives during the whole time of the building. The Bridge was completely finished, and the last of the workmen paid off, 13th November, 1771, so that it was in all five years and two months in building. The Earl of Errol's coach was the first that passed it some time in winter 1770 and 1771. The plan was drawn by Mr Smeaton, architect, and the work completed according to his order by Messrs Gregor, Morton, and Jameson." The bridge cost £26,446 12s 3d; of which the mason part of the work amounted to £15,109 18s 7½, and the wright part £8032 0s 10¼d, with £407 19s 4½d paid for "liquors and bread in both departments;" while the management, interest, price of land, &c., came to £2896 13s 5¼d. The old timber and tools were put up to auction, and sold for behoof of the fabric. The Bridge has nine arches, and is 880 feet long: and in breadth it had 17 feet 4 inches of roadway, and 4 feet of foot-pavement on the south side, giving in all 21 feet 4 inches between the parapets. The pontage continued to be levied from 1771 to 1778, yielding £750 per annum. Copper tokens—pennies and half-pennies—were struck in commemoration of the completion of the bridge. One of the halfpennies, in our possession, displays on the obverse a full view of the edifice from the north, with the Hill of Kinnoull; below are the Town's arms and motto; and the superscription is:—"Perth Halfpenny. Tay Bridge. Finished 1770." On the reverse is a fisherman standing at the side of the river hauling a net; a coble is anchored near him, and

several fish lie at his feet. The superscription is:—
 “Rete Trahito Fauste.” Not very long after the pontage ceased, and after the death of the Earl of Kinnoull, a singular riot occurred on the bridge. “When the post-horse duty was first farmed out,” says George Penny, “the contractor, deeming the Bridge of Perth the most eligible place to collect the duty, erected a mean-looking gate in the same place where the former handsome one for collecting the pontage had stood. The late Earl Robert [of Kinnoull], on receiving notice of the circumstance, came personally, with men provided with spades and picks, and with his own hands assisted to pitch the obnoxious obstruction into the river; declaring that whilst he lived, a gate should never disfigure the bridge for that purpose.”

Smeaton’s bridge has fully justified the confidence reposed in the talented architect. It has successfully withstood the force of heavy inundations. Little more than two years after its opening, it was subjected to a severe strain. The winter of 1773–74 proved exceptionally severe. There was intense frost all the month of January: on the 10th, the Tay froze, and became an unbroken sheet of ice from Luncarty to the mouth of Earn; and not till the 11th of February was there any sign of thaw. On the 14th, the Almond and other small rivers, having burst their bonds, poured down furiously, covered with broken ice, which accumulating and heaping up above the Bridge of Perth, choked the flow of water. The North Inch was immediately flooded: the floating masses of ice levelled the White Dyke, as also the double row of trees lining the Dunkeld Road, which then passed through the middle of the Inch. In a short time, the inundation increasing every moment, the town was an island: the torrent ran through the Castle Gable, and north end of the Skinnergate: a wall in the Blackfriars grounds was overthrown, and the water rushing to the Mill Wynd, inundated it to the depth of six feet. Matters so continued all day; but at nine o’clock at night the ice on the Tay broke, and the water rose higher: the North Shore parapet

gave way, and the flood poured through the two pends or arches below the Council House, and deposited blocks of ice as far up the High Street as the first shop above the Skinnergate. Several garden walls behind the Watergate were thrown down. Five ships were lifted and thrown upon the quay. But the extremity of the danger was over in a couple of hours, when the river finding free course, the inundation began to decrease. Great fears were entertained for the safety of the bridge; but it stood firm, and the subsidence of the waters showed the strong fabric uninjured. The Tay was again frozen for many weeks in the winter of 1793-94; but the thaw, in spring, produced no very serious results. There was far more danger at the end of the storm of 1814. On Friday, the 12th February, the Almond brought down its icebergs over the frozen Tay, which soon broke above the bridge; but the water, finding no proper vent, as the ice below the town still held firm, overflowed the North Inch, and the adjacent streets on the west, and ultimately rose to the height of 23 feet at the bridge. It was late on Saturday night until the thick ice at the Friarton gave way; and when this occurred, affording the desired outlet, the force of the flood passing through the Bridge shook it from end to end, but without doing it any material injury. The only other great inundation was that of October, 1847, when the height of the river at the bridge was 19 feet.

It is now necessary, in bringing our historical sketch to a conclusion, that we should revert to the Town of Perth's connection with the Bridge of Earn, which had been conveyed to the burgh by Royal Charter. This connection subsisted in its entirety until nearly sixty years ago. The Magistrates and Council had the sole control of the bridge; but their management does not seem to have been always characterised by economy. At least, a paper presented by the Guildry Incorporation to the Convention of Royal Burghs, in 1785, asserts that some years previously "an arch of the bridge was thought insufficient, and was taken down. It was an arch not above 30 feet wide, but the building

of it cost the town considerably more than £3000 sterling, although a complete new bridge over the same river, about six miles above (*viz.*, Bridge of Forteviot), was done by subscription for £500 sterling. This was not all, for the County, before the arch was taken down, offered to take the burden on them, in all time coming, on being allowed the pontage. The Town's managers refused that, and they draw about £60 a-year for it. If this were prudent management, the disinterested will judge." About sixty years ago, however, the building of a new bridge became imperative, and at that juncture the Town Council resolved to get rid of their connection with the fabric by surrendering their chartered rights on receiving a pecuniary consideration therefor. On that footing an arrangement was effected. An Act of Parliament was procured in 1820, authorising the erection of a new bridge, and vesting its management in a body of Trustees (two of whom were to be annually nominated by the Perth Town Council from among their own number); and the Council disposed of their old rights *in toto* for the sum of £2000. But this transaction did not immediately relieve them of all further trouble in the matter. The Trustees found difficulty in procuring money to rebuild the bridge: and in this emergency, the Town of Perth undertook to provide, and did provide, the requisite funds for the work, to the amount of £15,996 17s: the proceeds of the pontage to be applied, first, in paying the interest, and second, the principal sum. The foundation-stone of the new bridge was laid in May, 1821. The pontage produced about £1000 annually, and gradually liquidated the debt to the Town of Perth.

Nothing is perfect: and Smeaton's Bridge of Tay was built with one fault (consequent on the funds being circumscribed)—it was rather narrow, a defect which became more and more manifest as the daily traffic upon it increased. At various times plans were proposed for widening the roadway by adding projected footpaths. One plan was obtained from Mr Stevenson, engineer,

the expense of which was estimated at £8000. In fact, all the plans contemplated heavy outlay, which was found to be an unsurmountable obstacle to the carrying out of the improvement. The question, often discussed, still lay over, until about ten years ago, when a vigorous public movement accomplished the long-desired object. The work was commenced in November, 1869, and executed with such celerity that it was entirely finished before the end of spring, 1870, during which period the traffic was never interrupted for a single hour, and no accident occurred to any of the men employed. The alterations consisted in removing the stone parapets of the main part of the structure, and throwing out a footpath of 5 feet in breadth on each side, supported by iron brackets bolted together by iron rods passing transversely underneath the carriage-way, which, by this means, has been enlarged to the breadth of 22 feet 8 inches, being an increase of 11 feet 4 inches. The heavy stone parapets of the portion widened have been replaced by iron sidings. The cost was about £3300, including a sum the interest of which will meet the expenses of keeping the fabric in repair. The money was raised by public subscription and the proceeds of a bazaar in the City-Hall. The alterations, while of the utmost convenience to the public, as affording ample scope for all kinds of traffic, have interfered only to a very slight extent with the symmetry of the bridge, and, in fact, when it is viewed from a distance, they do not appear to disturb or diminish its general fine effect. For this improvement the community were chiefly indebted to the energy of the late Lord-Provost Pullar, whose generous and unflagging exertions in its promotion were so thoroughly crowned with success.*

* Rev. Mr Dunbar's *Statistical Account of Kinnoull*: 1796; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*; *Cabinet Portrait Gallery of British Worthies*, vol. xii., p. 186; Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. i., p. 91; *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. ii., p. 319; Penny's *Traditions of Perth*, pp. 268-272; *Memorabilia of Perth*, p. 220; *New Statistical Account of Perthshire* (Parish of Dunbarney); &c.

THE MYLNES, MASTER MASONS.

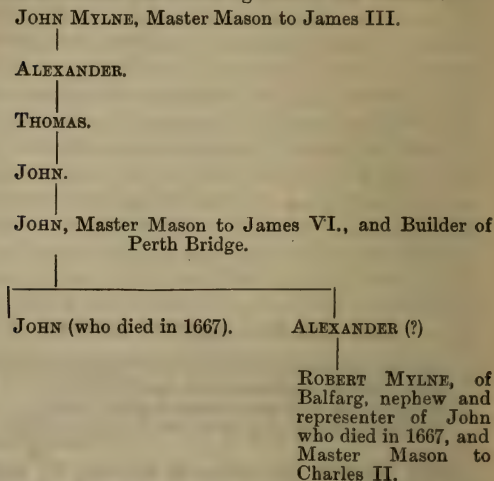
ON, on, my dear brethren, pursue the great Lecture,
And refine on the rules of old Architecture;
High honour to Masons the craft daily brings,
To those brothers of princes, and fellows to kings.

Masonic Song.

THE object of this article is to offer, by way of appendix to "The Bridge of Perth," some account of John Mylne, Master Mason, who built the Bridge of 1617-21, together with notices of his family, gleaned from such sources of information as lay within our reach.

John Mylne is first heard of in our local history on his becoming architect and builder of "the eleven bow Brig of Tay." To what part of the country he owed his birth we have not discovered; but, at all events, it seems tolerably clear that his ancestry did not belong to the town of Perth, although ultimately he was buried there. Regarding his parentage, we know that he was lineally descended from the Master Mason of James III., which royal appointment continued hereditarily in the same house, in unbroken succession, down to John, and after him was held by his son, and then by his nephew. The genealogy of these Mylnes was entered in the records of the Lord Lyon Office, some time during the reign of Charles II., when the representative of the family was Robert Mylne of Balfarg or

Balfargie: from which statement, and other authority, we have framed the following view of the descent:—



The Master Mason to King James VI. acquired great reputation in the exercise of his profession, and doubtless he earned it well; but we have already given reasons for demurring to the skill evinced in the building of the Bridge of Perth, which stood only four years until it yielded to the inundation. John probably was made a burgess of Perth, and at his death he was interred in the Greyfriars Burying-ground of the city, near to the middle of the east wall, where, upwards of thirty years subsequent to his demise, a grave-stone was placed to his memory. It was restored in 1849. It is a large flat stone, but may have been originally supported on four pillars, so as to form what is called a "table-stone." The only date upon it is that of the restoration; but it bears the following metrical epitaph, with the motto of the family arms in the centre:—

This stone entombes the dust of famous Mill,
Renowned chiefly in his tyme for skill
In architecture: his learn'd art did lay
The spacious arches of the bridge of Tay,
Which as dimolisht by a mighty spate,

So was his fabricke by the course of fate
 Six lustres since, and more : his progeny
 Succeeding to that art, their sire outvy;
 And this assign'd, his worth deserved one
 Of jet or marble, not of common stone.

TAM ARTE × QUAM MARTE.

Seven foot of ground, clay flour, clay wall,
 Serve both for chamber, now, and hall,
 To Master Mill, whose *scur-buile* brain
 Could ten Escurialls well containe
 Whill hee breath'd lyfe; yet in his sonne
 And sonn's sone he leves two for one,
 Who to advance Mill's art and fame,
 Make stocks and stones speak out his name.

The word *scur-buile* was adopted from the French into the old Scottish language, particularly in the northern counties, and signifies an ingenious artist.

"Famous Mill," however, has been further associated with the Fair City in the capacity of Master of the Lodge of Freemasons now called the *Scoon and Perth*. This Lodge possesses what is termed a "Charter," but which is merely a Declaration, or "Contract," as it is also called, drawn up and signed by 41 of the members, at Perth, the 24th December, 1658, and bearing, by an indorsation, to have been recorded in the Books of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, at Edinburgh, the 19th May, 1742. This document—which embodies, first, a brief narrative of the Lodge's origin, and of its Mastership under several generations of the Mylnes, Royal Master Masons; and, secondly, a digest of the Acts and Regulations of the Lodge—is appended to the *Laws and Constitutions* of the *Scoon and Perth*, printed in 1866. The first part of the Charter is that which alone concerns our present enquiry, and, therefore, we now quote the statement respecting the Mylnes :—

But to our record and knowledge of our predecessors, there came one from the north country, named John Mylne, ane mason, a man well experted in his calling, who entered himself both freeman and burgess of this burgh [of Perth], who, in process of time, by reason of his skill and art, was preferred to be the King's Majesty's Mr. Mason, and Master of the said Lodge at Scoon; and his son, John Mylne, being, after his father's decease, preferred to the said office, and Mr. of the said Lodge in the reign of his Majesty King James the Sixt of blessed memory, who, by the said second John Mylne, was (by the

King's own desire) entered freeman, mason, and fellow-craft; and during all his lifetime he maintained the same as ane member of the Lodge of Scoon; so that this Lodge is the most famous Lodge (if well ordered) within this kingdom: Of the which name of Mylne there hath continued several generations Masters Masons to his Majesties the Kings of Scotland, and Masters of the said Lodge of Scoon till the year One thousand six hundred and fifty-seven years, at which time the last Mr Mylne, being Mr. of the Lodge of Scoon, deceased, and left behind him ane complete Lodge of Masons, freemen, and fellow-crafts, with such of their number as Wardens and others to overawe them, and ordained that one of the said number should choose one of themselves to succeed as Master in his place. Such is the statement, attested, in December, 1658, by the signatures of 41 brethren. But we may be permitted to express a doubt of the *possibility* of John Mylne, Master Mason to James VI. being the son (instead of the great-great-grandson) of John Mylne, Master Mason to James III. Again, it would seem to be conclusively proved, by authentic records, that when the 41 brethren certified, in December, 1658, that "the last Mr Mylne" died in 1657, the said Mr Mylne was actually alive, and busy with his "architectorie," at the date of the "Charter," and did not die till December, 1667! Is it too much to suggest that if any scrap of "our record" exists, establishing that the first Mr Mylne, or the last Mr Mylne, or any other Mr Mylne of that family, was Master of the Scoon and Perth Lodge, it should be produced in the interests of truth and local history?

The time of the death of John Mylne, the bridge-builder, is not known. But he left two sons—John, and Alexander—at least, we suppose Alexander to have been the name—both of whom followed their father's profession. Alexander Mylne, architect, died in 1643, at the early age of 30, and was buried at Holyrood. A small monument to his memory was erected on the north wall of the choir, with a Latin inscription—thus translated:—

A. Tam arte, quam marte. M.
Here is buried a worthy man and an Ingenious Mason,
Alexander Milne, 20th Feb. A.D. 1643.
Stay, Passenger, here famous Milne doth rest,
Worthy to be in Egypt's Marble drest;

What Myron or Appelles could have done
 In brass or paintry, he could that in stone;
 But thirty years he blameless lived; old age
 He did betray, and in's prime left this stage.

Restored by Robert Milne,
 Architect, Mdcclxxvi

John succeeded to his father's hereditary post of King's Master Mason for Scotland, and was employed on various public works. The last building on which he was engaged, but which he did not live to finish, was the House of Panmure. George Maule, second Earl of Panmure, a noted Cavalier, obtained his rightful title in December, 1661, and soon applied himself to the carrying out of his father's long-cherished design to erect a new baronial seat. In the spring of 1666, he entered into a contract with Mylne; and among the MSS. at Panmure is a volume containing all details of the arrangements and expense of the new building. It begins thus :—"This Booke contains the wholl charges of the building of the house of Panmure, in the yeare of God 1666—John Milne, Master Masone to the King's Majestie, being undertaker of the worke. The terms and conditions past and agreed upon betwixt George Earl of Panmure and John Milne, or the chiefe heads of that contract, being as folowes, vizt." These relate to the number of masons to be entered to the work, their hours of labour, and their wages; and the number was to be regulated at Lord Panmure's pleasure. The first entry is dated 4th April, 1666, for £11 12s "to the measones in drinke money." But while the house was in progress, the builder died. His demise took place on 24th December, 1667, and the work at Panmure was transferred to Alexander Nesbit, who afterwards became King's Master Mason. John Mylne was laid in the Greyfriars Churchyard in Edinburgh. His monument bears a fulsome inscription and the following verse :—

Reader, *John Milne*, who maketh the *fourth* John,
 And by descent from father unto son,
Sixth master mason to a royal race
 Of *seven successive kings*, sleeps in this place.

It seems improbable that John had any children. The

entry in the Lyon Books, which we shall next quote, describes Robert Milne of Balfarg (who was presumably the son of Alexander) as the nephew and representative of John, and as the King's Master Mason :—

MYLNE, ROBERT, of Balfarg, his Maiestie's Master Mason, nevoy and representer of the deceased John Milne, late Master Masson to his Majesty, which John was lawful son to the deceased John Mylne, also his Maiestie's Master Mason, and which John was lawful son to the deceased John Milne, lykewise his Maiestie's Master Masson, and which John was lawfull son to the deceased Thomas Mylne, in lyke manner his Maiestie's Master Masson, which Thomas was son to the deceased Alexander, lykewise his Maiestie's Master Masson, and which Alexander was son of the deceased John Milne, also his Maiestie's Master Masson, by vertue of ane gift granted to him thereof be King James the 3d of ever blessed memory, of the date the day of years, BEARS Or a cross moline azure quarterly perced of the feild, betwixt 3 mullets of the 2d. Crest, Apelles' head coupie at the shoulders proper, vested about the neck, vert, on the head a helmet azure, bever turned up, and a plumaish Gules. Motto, Tam arte quam Marte.

In the year after his uncle's death, Robert Mylne was engaged by the town of Perth, during the Provostship of Mr Patrick Threipland, to erect a public ornamental structure. The Market Cross of the Fair City had been demolished, along with many other buildings, in order that the materials might be employed in the construction of the Cromwellian citadel on the South Inch. But in 1668, the Magistrates resolved to re-erect the Cross, and for that purpose made an agreement with "Robert Mylne of Balfargie, the King's Master Mason," to build a cross as elegant as any in Scotland, for which he was to receive £200 sterling. The work was finished by May next year, and the Council, on the 24th of the month, ordered George Jackson, Treasurer, to pay to Robert Mylne, for building the cross, 4000 merks (including the expenses of scaffolding and carriage of stones), and also ordered a gratuity of 20 merks to the masons. Balfarg's next important employment was the re-edification of the Palace of Holyroodhouse, which had been in ruins for twenty years, in consequence of a conflagration which broke out on the 10th November, 1650, when the venerable pile was occupied by a party of

Cromwell's soldiery. By this calamity the greater portion of the Palace was destroyed; but the north-west tower, which contained the apartments of Mary Queen of Scots, fortunately escaped the ravages of the flames. Nothing was done to repair the damage until the year 1671, when the Scottish Government engaged the eminent architect, Sir William Bruce, to prepare a design, which being adopted, Robert Mylne was employed to execute the work, which lasted from 1671 to 1678, and the present Palace is the result. Mylne likewise built Mylne's Court and Mylne's Square in the city of Edinburgh. He is heard of again in 1688, when, on the 1st May, the Town Council of Perth, ordered their Treasurer, Patrick Robertson, to write and desire Mr Mylne, the King's Master Mason, to send upon the town's expenses, two men he had recommended to them for finding out *coal* in the Common or Burgh Muir.

A later member of the family—a grandson, apparently of Balfarg—was Thomas Mylne, architect, one of the Magistrates of Perth. He had two sons, Robert and William, who were both trained in the same line of art to which so many of their ancestors had devoted their talents. Robert was born in Edinburgh, on 4th January, 1734. After receiving his education in the schools of that city, he was sent to Rome, where he pursued architectural studies for the space of five years, and with such distinguished success that in September, 1758, he was awarded, by the Academy of St Luke, the first prize (a silver medal) in the first class of architecture. The Academy also unanimously elected him a member,—the bar of his Protestantism being graciously obviated by a dispensation from the Pope. The Scottish student was likewise honoured with the membership of the Academies of Florence and Bologna. He travelled in Naples and Sicily,—his fine skill and classical acquirements enabling him to discover various points in ancient architecture which had previously escaped observation. Afterwards he returned to Britain, and while living in London, in 1759, plans were advertised for in regard to the building of a bridge

at Blackfriars. Mylne was a stranger in London,—without a patron, and with scarcely a friend. Nevertheless, though the chances seemed against him, he resolved to compete. He sent in a plan, on which the bridge arches were elliptical instead of semicircular,—the elliptical arch having apparently attracted his attention in a Florentine bridge. Twenty other competitors gave in plans. When all had been duly examined, three were selected, on which the final award was to be given. One of these three was Mylne's: another was that of Mr Gwyn, a friend of Dr Johnson. An animated public discussion now ensued, on the relative merits of the elliptical and semicircular arches. The great lexicographer threw his bulky form into the arena of strife, on the side of Mr Gwyn, and wrote three letters in the *Gazetteer* of 1st, 8th, and 15th December, 1759, “to show the weakness of the elliptical arch by arguments which appear simply to common reason, and which will yet stand the test of geometrical examination.” He affected to disparage the honours which Milne had won abroad:—

That Mr M—— obtained the prize of the architecture at Rome, a few months ago, is willingly confessed; nor do his opponents doubt that he obtained it by deserving it. May he continue to obtain whatever he deserves; but let it not be presumed that a prize granted at Rome implies an irresistible degree of skill. The competition is only between boys, and the prize given to excite laudable industry, not to reward consummate excellence. Nor will the suffrage of the Romans much advance any name among those who know, what no man of science will deny, that architecture has for some time degenerated at Rome to the lowest state, and that the Pantheon is now deformed by petty decorations.

And the Dr concluded his triple attack by recommending “to those who may still doubt which of the two arches is the stronger, to press an egg first on the ends, and then upon the sides.” Against these vigorous onsets, Mylne defended himself to the best of his ability; and the elliptical arch carried the day. His plan was preferred. A notable triumph was his; and he soon had the pleasure of counting Johnson as a firm friend.

Mylne estimated that the expense of the bridge

should not exceed £153,000 : and upon this calculation the undertaking proceeded. He was engaged to superintend the work at a salary of £300 per annum, with a further remuneration of five per cent. on the money spent. The bridge (which was first intended to be named after the elder Pitt) was begun in 1760 : and Mylne enclosed in the foundation-stone the silver medal which had been presented to him by the Roman Academy of St Luke. The bridge was opened entirely in 1769. The cost was £152,840 3s 10d, being £159 16s 2d under the original estimate—a result which has rarely been paralleled : and yet the able architect had to threaten law proceedings before he obtained payment of his percentage ! During the building of the bridge, Mr Mylne erected a new memorial-stone to his ancestor, John Mylne, in the Greyfriars Burying-ground at Perth. It was placed in the east wall, where it still remains. The inscription runs thus :—

Near this Spot lies
JOHN MYLNE
Master Builder to James VIth
who about Two Century's ago
Rebuilt the Ancient Bridge
over the Tay
Opposite the High Street
which a Dreadful Inundation
Swept away
xiv October Mdcxxi.

ROBERT MYLNE, Architect,
Erected this Stone
to restore and perpetuate
the Memory of his Ancestors.
Mdccclxxiv.

He also caused the restoration of the monument to Alexander Mylne, at Holyrood.

Mylne had made a friend of Johnson ; but when the Bridge was nearly finished, the greatest satirist of the day ran full tilt against the successful Scotsman. There was an ill-natured story afloat that Mylne's plan owed its preference not to its merits, but to the exertions of his friend, Mr John Paterson, the City Solicitor, and the original projector of the Bridge. Churchill caught up this mud, and flung it at both gentlemen in

his poem of *The Ghost*, which was partly written in ridicule of Dr Johnson :—

What of that Bridge, which, void of sense,
But well supplied with impudence,
Englishmen, knowing not the Guild,
Thought they might have a claim to build,
Till Paterson, as white as milk,
As smooth as oil, as soft as silk,
In solemn manner had decreed
That, on the other side the Tweed,
Art, born and bred, and fully grown,
Was with one Mylne, a man unknown,
But grace, preferment, and renown,
Deserving, just arrived in town :
One Mylne, an artist perfect quite,
Both in his own and country's right,
As fit to make a bridge as he,
With glorious Pativinity,
To build inscriptions, worthy found
To lie for ever underground.

The reference, in the last lines, is to the inscription to the honour of Pitt, which was sculptured on the foundation-stone of the Bridge. But Churchill's scurrility did Mylne no harm.

While Mylne was employed on Blackfriars Bridge, his brother, William, entered into a contract with the Magistrates of Edinburgh, in the year 1765, to build the North Bridge of that city for the sum of £10,140, and to complete the work in 1769. The undertaking went on, and was nearly finished, when, in August, 1769, part of the fabric gave way, burying five persons in the ruins,—one cause of the catastrophe being “the immense undigested mass of earth which was piled upon the vaults and arches, in order to raise the bridge to a proper level”—a mode which reminds us of the “clay and yird” mentioned by the *Chronicle of Perth* in 1614. Other architects were now called in to repair all defects, and the North Bridge was opened in 1772.

Blackfriars Bridge brought fame and fortune to Robert Mylne. After its completion, he was appointed Surveyor of St Paul's Cathedral, London, in which capacity he suggested the inimitable inscription in that edifice to the memory of Sir Christopher Wren:—

SI MONUMENTUM REQUIRIS, CIRCUMSPICE.

Mylne altered, repaired, and erected a number of important edifices throughout the country. He died on 5th May, 1811, and was buried near to Wren, in St Paul's. By his marriage, in 1770, with Mary Home, he had nine children,—five of whom, a son and four daughters, survived him. He left a manuscript account of his foreign travels; but it has never been given to the world.*

* *Notes and Queries*, 3d Series, vol. vii., p. 198; *Memorabilia of Perth*, pp. 29, 179, 189; *Laws and Constitutions of the Scoon and Perth Lodge*—Perth: 1866; *Historical Description of Holyroodhouse*—Edin.: 1819, pp. 69, 89; *Registrum de Panmure*, vol. i., Editor's Preface, p. xlv.; Chambers' *Scottish Biographical Dictionary*, vol. iv., p. 65; Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, vol. iii., p. 234; Boswell's *Life of Johnson*; Johnson's *Miscellaneous Works* (Considerations on Blackfriars Bridge); Knight's *Cyclopædia of London*, p. 514; Churchill's *Poems*—(*The Ghost*, Book IV.); Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*: 1816, p. 240.

70

**THE CHRONICLER OF PERTH, AND HIS
DESCENDANTS.**

After my death I wish no other herald,
No other speaker of my living actions,
To keep mine honour from corruption,
But such an honest chronicler as Griffith.

King Henry VIII.

HAVING sketched the history of the King's Master Masons, and seeing that in our account of the Bridge of Perth we were indebted, for many curious and illustrative facts, to the local repertory called the *Chronicle of Perth*, we deem it incumbent on us to say something about that old record, and the persons who were its compilers, regarding the last of whom and his descendants, we are able to afford a good deal of original information.

The *Chronicle of Perth* was printed for the Maitland Club, in 1831, as the contribution, and under the editorship, of Mr James Maidment, the learned Scottish antiquarian writer. It was printed from a manuscript once belonging to the Rev. James Scott, of Perth, which had previously been in the possession of the Rev. David Black, his colleague, who died in 1771. After Mr Scott's death, in 1818, it was purchased at his book sale, by the Faculty of Advocates, and deposited in their Library. Mr Scott designated the manuscript—"Fleming and Mercer's Chronicle;" and Mr Maidment says, in his prefatory remarks, that "John Mercer, who, for a considerable time was Town-Clerk of Perth, unquestionably appears to have been the possessor of the volume containing this Chronicle, as towards the end of it a few entries, principally of deaths, occur in his handwriting; but beyond this portion he seems to have had no further title to the authorship." The manuscript consists of short, homely, but generally graphic notices of memorable occurrences connected with the city of Perth, from 1210 to 1668,

partly derived from history, but mostly from personal knowledge and observation. These entries are inserted according to no chronological order, "the writers having evidently noted down their information without any regard to dates;" that is, the sequence of dates. So far as we can judge, the noting down seems to have been begun, about the end of the sixteenth century, by a citizen named Fleming—perhaps the father of Marjorie Fleming who became John Mercer's wife, and of William Fleming, Apothecary in Perth, whose copy of the "Rentall Book of Perthshire : 1649," written in 1654, was printed at Perth, in 1835.

John Mercer was born in 1592, and was the son of a certain David Mercer, burghess of Perth, who may have been a scion of the Innerpeffray branch of the Mercer family. The profession which John adopted was that of the law,—his parents being obviously in good circumstances. He became a public Notary; and on 27th February, 1617, he was made a burghess of his native town. His father died before the 8th December, 1620, as of that date, John Mercer, Notary, burghess of Perth, as assignee to the late David Mercer, burghess of Perth, his father, granted a discharge of an obligation for 400 marks, due by Mr John Brown, merchant-burghess of Perth. In the end of 1623, the Town-Clerkship of Perth fell vacant. Death was very busy that year in the Fair City—the *Chronicle* stating that there "died, within sixteen weeks, James Adamson, wha was Provost [in 1611]; Mr Henry Anderson, wha was Bailie [in 1612]; David Sibbald, William Williamson, James Bannevis, wha had been Bailies; Andrew Anderson, wha was Bailie that same year. There was this harvest time ane great mortality and dearth that x or xij died ordinarily every day, from Midsummer to Michaelmas, within this burgh." And in the beginning of October, "Henry Elder, clerk, departed this life, and was buried on Sunday thereafter, and on Mononday, the — day of October, being the election day, John Mercer admitted Clerk, but [without] ony opposition." The election of Town-Clerk took place on Monday 6th

October, when a gift was subscribed by the Provost, Bailies, Council, Dean of Guild, Treasurer, Deacons, &c., of the burgh of Perth, to John Mercer, Notary, burghess there, of the office of Common Clerkship of the said burgh, to be holden all the days of his lifetime,—he receiving all fees, duties, profits, &c., belonging to the said office : and the Privy Seal of the burgh was appended to the document. Shortly before this lucrative appointment, John Mercer had married Marjorie Fleming, whose parentage has not been discovered in any record; but there can be little doubt that she was nearly related to the originator of the *Chronicle*, and that through such affinity the manuscript passed latterly into her husband's hands. John had an only sister, Jean, who, on 26th February, 1624, married John Home of Strathbonar, maltman, burghess of Perth; and she got sasine of one fourth of the lands of Strathbonar, on 19th February, 1625. The Town-Clerk seems to have gradually acquired considerable wealth. On 30th July, 1632, Thomas Ogilvy, burghess of Perth, granted an obligation to John Mercer, Burgh Clerk thereof, for 200 marks; and on 17th October, 1635, David Wod, portioner of Pittenweem, granted an obligation to John Mercer, Burgh Clerk of Perth, for 600 marks.

After the troubles in Scotland broke out, an entry was made in the *Chronicle* recording the restoration, in the Church of Perth, of the Presbyterian form of celebrating the Lord's Supper. The Covenant was subscribed by the Magistrates and inhabitants in March, 1638; and on Sunday, 1st April following, "the communion was given by the ministers in the auld manner, by the minister and elders : the minister at the little table, and the elders at the twa boards, being people at both sides thereof, every ane took the bread first off the plate with their ain hand, and syne the cup. *Nota.*—George Bissett and I bore the bread, Gregor Johnstoun and Patrick Dundie, the cups, this year." The "I" here refers to either Fleming or Mercer.

Next year, John Mercer became a landed proprietor. On 15th May, 1639, he purchased the property of

Potterhill, in the parish of Kinnoull, from Mr James Mercer, only son of William Mercer, who was son and heir of the deceased Andrew Mercer, burgess of Perth, son of Robert Mercer of Newton of Forgandenny, by his wife, Helen Chisholm : and which property is described as all and whole that piece of land called Potterhill, with the stone quarry of the same, gardens, tofts, crofts, houses, buildings erected upon the same, and pertinents. From some cause or other unexplained, John Mercer ceased to be Town-Clerk on 25th March, 1642; but he speedily appears as a member of the Magistracy of Perth. He was elected second Bailie, on 30th September, 1644, and again on 5th October, 1645. After being a year out of office, he was elevated to the first Bailie's chair, on 4th October, 1647, which he held one year. A second time he was chosen first Bailie, on 20th October, 1649; and a third time, on 2d October, 1651. On the 20th and 21st November following, George Murray of Newbigging of Tibbermore granted a bond to John Mercer, Bailie, burgess of Perth, and Marjory Fleming, his spouse, for 2000 marks. Mercer was a fourth time chosen first Bailie on 4th October, 1652; but on this occasion he protested against being elected. A new Magistracy, however, being chosen on 19th April, 1653, under a Commission from the Commonwealth Commissioners, Mercer was chosen to his former dignity of first Bailie, which he accepted; and on 1st September, 1654, he was re-appointed to the office of Town-Clerk of Perth; which appointment did not prevent his re-election to the first Bailieship on 2d October, 1654, for another year,—the last in which he sat in the Magistracy.

By his marriage with Marjorie Fleming, the Town-Clerk had two sons, James and John, and a daughter, Isabella. The eldest son, James, became a Writer and Notary in Perth; and on 6th March, 1643, was entered a burgess of the city. In 1658, he was appointed Depute Burgh Clerk, with the apparent prospect of succeeding his father, as Clerk, on his death or resignation. At Kinnoull, on 22d April, 1659, a bond was granted

by John Innes of Eldingeight to James Mercer, lawful son to John Mercer, Bailie of Perth, assignee constitute to James Mercer in Glendonyng, for 3000 marks, with 100 marks of expenses, and certain annualrents, due in terms of marriage contract between the said James Mercer and Margaret Urquhart, his spouse, for whom the said John Innes was "burden-bearer," of date 2d March, 1648. Concerning the second son, John, we shall speak subsequently. The daughter, Isabella, married David Smythe of Barnhill, second son of the second marriage of Patrick Smythe of Braco, parish of Scone, (ancestor of the Methven family), with Margaret Stewart: and on 2d September, 1656, John Mercer, Town-Clerk, granted to his wife, Marjorie Fleming, and in reversion to his daughter, Isabella, an annualrent of £80 out of Potterhill. In the summer of 1665, he sustained a family calamity by the death of his sister, Janet, which sad event he thus noted in the *Chronicle*:—"1665, July 9. Janet Mercer, my sister, being Sunday, buried, relict of John Home, elder: departed on Saturday, the 8th day." Another bereavement befel him, two years after, during the winter of 1667, being the death of his eldest son, James, which he also entered in the *Chronicle*:—"1667, December 17. At three hours in the morning, James Mercer, my son, departed, and was buried on Thursday thereafter, being the nineteen day thereof." James died unmarried. In October of this year, David Smythe of Barnhill was made a burghess of Perth by right of his wife.

John Mercer was now advanced in years, and, deprived of the help of his son, as Depute-Clerk, found the duties of his office becoming more and more irksome. His relations with the Town Council, moreover, were growing less and less amiable. Probably the Council wished him to resign, and give place to a younger man. He endeavoured, in 1670, pleading his great age, to arrange with the Council as to the appointment of a Depute-Clerk, and with that view commissioned his son-in-law, David Smythe of Barnhill, to offer, in his name, William Graham, to be Clerk-Depute and

Assistant. But the Council would not accept the nominee. What they evidently wanted was a full resignation; and, the dispute waxing warm, they ordered John to deliver up to them the Town's Charter and other papers of importance in his possession, which he refusing to do, they forthwith suspended him for contumacy. A compromise, however, was effected : the terms being that John should demit his Clerkship, and that the Council should pay his heirs, on his decease, 1000 marks; for which sum his successor in office should indemnify them. The Council, on 27th January, 1671, elected Mr Alexander Orme as Town-Clerk, who agreed to become bound for the 1000 marks. Mr Orme did not long enjoy the situation. He died on 23d December, 1672; and the Council, on appointing Mr John Tais as interim-Clerk, resolved, on account of the care and faithfulness of Mr Orme, to exempt his relict and children from payment of the 1000 marks which he had bound himself to pay to Mr Mercer's heirs, and ordained the succeeding Clerk to pay that sum. Mr John Tais was elected Clerk on 21st July, 1673, and gave bond to pay 1000 marks to Mercer's heirs, but if he (the obligant) died before 1676, then the succeeding Clerk should pay the sum. It only needed a succession of short-lived Clerks to postpone the payment till the Greek Kalends ! Mr John Tais (who obtained Mr William Graham as his Depute-Clerk, with consent of the Council) died in 1678, and was succeeded by Mr Thomas Butter.

John Mercer's surviving son, John, was married in 1673,—having, on 2d September, that year, executed a marriage contract with Lilius Murray, daughter of William Murray of Keillor, who, with Patrick, his son and heir, granted a bond for 2500 marks of tocher : and on 9th November, 1675, young John was made a burgess of Perth. The days of his father were now numbered and few. In the end of 1675, the aged ex-Town Clerk died : and on 2nd January, 1676, his son, John, was retoured heir to Potterhill, as only (surviving) son of the deceased, but in 1669, the latter had

granted a disposition to John of the Potterhill lands, and also of the "Lipper-lands." After the old man's death, the manuscript volume of the Chronicle doubtless passed into the heir's possession; but neither he nor any one else continued the register of remarkable events,—the Chronicle closing with an imperfect entry dated 7th April, 1668. What a fund of knowledge about Perth and the doings of its citizens might have been bequeathed to us, had some curious hands carried on the record for another century! On 29th October, 1679, John's sister, Isabella, wife of David Smythe of Barnhill, died without children. John himself died in 1684,—his will being dated 29th July that year. He left his widow with five children, two sons and three daughters, viz. :—

1. Liliās, born 2d July, 1674.

2. WILLIAM, born 5th December, 1675. At his father's death he was only eleven years of age. A Precept of Clare Constat was granted, on 2d January, 1686, by John Murray of Pitcullen, with consent of Thomas Hay of Balhousie, to whom this superiority was disposed, but in which he was not yet infeft, in favour of William Mercer, as heir of his father, John Mercer, in the lands of Potterhill. William's mother was appointed his tutrix, and soon sold Potterhill. On 26th May, 1686, a contract, containing a disposition of these subjects, was executed by Liliās Murray, mother and tutrix of the said William Mercer, in favour of Andrew Lamb and Janet Gibson, his spouse, in liferent, and to Gilbert Grant, his son, in fee. William Mercer was made a burgess of Perth on 26th August, 1692. He eventually became a writer in Edinburgh. He was married to Anna Chalmers; and at his death, in Edinburgh, in 1728, left five daughters and his widow.

3. Amelia, born 1st March, 1677.

4. John, born 22d July, 1678. He was made a burgess of Perth, on 26th August, 1692, along with his brother, William; and, like him, was trained to the legal profession. He began business as a Notary in

Perth, and was afterwards appointed Town Clerk. He died unmarried, leaving his property to his nieces.

5. Jean, born 1st October, 1679. She married Mark Wood, in 1707; and they were the grand-parents of Sir Mark, Sir James, and Sir George Wood.

WILLIAM MERCER and Anna Chalmers had, as already stated, five daughters, viz. :—

1. JEAN, of whom below.
2. Clementina Helena, born 1st July, 1719. She died young, and unmarried.
3. Charlotte. She married Stewart of Fincastle; but died without surviving issue.
4. Barbara. She married Bisset of Glenalbert; but died without surviving issue.
5. Abigail. She married Stewart of Kinnaird; but died without children.

The eldest daughter, JEAN MERCER, married DAVID STEWART of Kynnachin, the representative of an old family in Athole, deriving descent from the royal line of Scotland. Their marriage was brought about by a romantic circumstance. It is said that before Kynnachin met Miss Mercer, he had a singular dream, in which he saw the lady who was destined to become his bride, and whose features, possessing great attractions, remained indelibly impressed on his memory, ever haunting him. Soon after this, he was invited to a ball in Perth, which was attended by the rank, beauty, and fashion of the county. Kynnachin was present, and, as his eye wandered over the gay assemblage crowding the ball-room, suddenly it rested on the fair lady of his dream—"Bonny Jeanie Mercer," then in the bloom of her charms. He was introduced,—an acquaintance was formed,—and a mutual attachment sprung up, which resulted in wedlock. Three children were born of this union—a son and two daughters. But the happiness of the family circle was destroyed by the outbreak of the Rebellion of 1745. Kynnachin, like the rest of the Stewarts of Athole, was a devoted Jacobite. He took up arms in support of the Young Chevalier, and accompanied him north to the fatal

field of Culloden. In the beginning of the spring of 1746, parties of the Duke of Cumberland's soldiers entered the country of Athole, and established themselves in various of the Jacobite gentlemen's seats. The lady of Kynnachin and her children did not leave their home on the laird's departure with the retreating insurgents : and a traditionary story is told that one day a company of red-coats reached the house,—not to occupy it at that juncture, but only to halt there over the night, on their way to some other destination. They were kindly received and plenteously regaled. The officer in command appeared touched by the lady's lone and unprotected condition, and, pointing out the dangers impending over her head, advised her to pack up all her silver-plate and other valuables, and, as the best precaution in her power, entrust them to his keeping, lest she should be plundered by a succeeding party, as had been done to Jacobite mansions around Perth. The lady was shrewd enough to penetrate his motive, but affected to adopt his counsel, and to repose in him her full confidence. She accordingly bundled up her plate and jewels ; and when the night waxed late, she, with the assistance of a trusty servant or two, quietly escaped from the house, with the children and effects, by making egress through a window, and got clear off to a distant place of safety. Next morning, the officer was much chagrined and very indignant on discovering how he had been duped. Drawing up his men in front of the house preparatory to their departure, he ordered them to fire a volley at the windows, and every casement was accordingly riddled. But a greater mischance befel. The daughter of a drummer belonging to the detachment, having fallen ill, was obliged to be left behind in the house, to be nursed until her recovery. On hearing the musketry, she sprung out of bed, and ran to the window of her room, when she was struck by a straggling bullet, and dropped dead on the floor ! The house was soon afterwards garrisoned by the Royalists. But when Lord George Murray made his skilful night-attacks on the

enemy's posts in Athole, Kynnachin was among those which he captured. The other posts were easily surprised; but the watchful sentinel at Kynnachin, espying the stealthy approach of the Highlanders, gave the alarm, and some unavailing resistance was made, which caused the loss of one man's life. On rummaging the military baggage seized there, it is affirmed that there was found an order from the Duke of Cumberland, commanding that no quarter should be given to the rebels. "I must observe to you," wrote Captain John Macdonald, Strathmashie, to Bishop Forbes, of date 10th May, 1748, "that among some papers found with the officers at Kynachan, there was ane order subscribed (if I well remember) by General or Colonel Campbell, setting forth it was the D—— of C———d's peremptor orders, if they could meet with any party of the Rebels, whom they could at all expect to overcome, to engage ym, and to give them no quarter, as they would be answerable. That of Kynachan was the attack assigned me, and this order I saw upon the word of ane honest man, and coppied, which copy I kept; and had the bad luck since to lose it, by the iniquity of the times, as I did many more things; but it's possible it may come to my hands yet. The prinll [principal] Cluny kept." The Laird of Kynnachin fought and fell at Culloden. His three children were :—

1. John Stewart. He was a minor, in 1752, and died unmarried, in minority.

2. JESSIE STEWART, who married ROBERT STEWART of Garth, and had five children—three sons and two daughters.

3. EUPHAME STEWART. She married Mungo Reid, son of Hugh Reid, tenant in Ballinarn (who also fought and fell at Culloden), and had a numerous family of sons and daughters at Pitkerril, in the Braes of Foss, of which her husband was tenant for many years.

The five children of JESSIE STEWART and ROBERT STEWART of Garth, were the following :—

1. William.

2. David. He was born in 1772, and at the age of

seventeen obtained an Ensigny in the 42d Regiment of Foot, of which gallant corps he was appointed Lieutenant in 1792. He bore part in the Duke of York's campaign in Flanders, and also in Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition to the West Indies. He became Captain in 1800, and next year joined in the descent on Egypt, and was one of the first to leap ashore from the boats in the Bay of Aboukir; but he received a wound at the Battle of Alexandria. He returned home for a brief period, and then again entered into active service. In 1814 he was promoted to the rank of Colonel, and in 1815 retired on half-pay, after having, "passed twenty-five years of his life in barracks, in military quarters and camps." Colonel Stewart was a genuine, warm-hearted Highlander, and a man of cultivated literary tastes, fully conversant with the history and traditions of the north and the clans, and this he evinced to the world by the publication, in 1822, of his *Sketches of the Highlanders of Scotland*, which embraced ample and most interesting details of the services of the different Highland Regiments. The work was received with great favour by the public; it took rank at once as a standard authority, and still maintains its place, nor is it likely ever to be superseded. Not long after the appearance of the *Sketches*, the author's father and elder brother died; and as the latter was unmarried, Colonel Stewart succeeded to the family inheritance of Garth. In 1825, he became Major-General, and was subsequently appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of St Lucia, which, in his youthful days of war and glory, he had assisted to capture from the French. He died, of fever, in the island, on 18th December, 1829. General Stewart was unmarried.

3. John, who succeeded to his brother, the General, but likewise died unmarried.

4. Clementina, who died unmarried.

5. JESSIE, who married the Rev. A. Irvine, D.D., Minister of Little Dunkeld, and died on 18th March, 1865, leaving two sons, viz.:—

1. The Rev. Alexander Robertson Irvine, D.D., Minister of the parish of Blair-Athole (since deceased), and

2. WILLIAM STEWART IRVINE, M.D., F.R.C.S.E.; of Craigatin, Pitlochry.

CASTLE HUNTLY.—Part 1st.

See 'mid yon trees, a battlemented pile
That tops the rock, o'erlooking many a mile
Of level carse.

Fair Emma Gordon and her bridal train
First graced its halls. Fair Emma! Huntly's child;

The wedded love of brave young Andrew Gray,
Wide Gowrie's pride, and Castle Huntly's lord.

David Miller—"The Tay."

POPULAR tradition, which is so prolific of apt but erroneous etymologies, has long affirmed that Castle Huntly, in the Carse of Gowrie, obtained its name from the circumstance of its founder, Andrew, second Lord Gray of Fowlis, having wedded a daughter of the Earl of Huntly. The fact of such a marriage would, in the absence of other evidence, have conclusively settled the point; but, unfortunately for the credit of tradition, the Lord Gray referred to did not marry a Huntly lady, and therefore the plausible old story falls to the ground, notwithstanding its having flourished in various accounts of the Castle.

The Grays were of Norman extraction. Some of them crossed over to England in the train of William the Conqueror, whose mother, according to unreliable authority, was believed to have been Arlotta, a daughter of that house. William liberally rewarded the brave followers who fought so stoutly for him at Hastings; and in the distribution of lands, the Grays came in for their full share. Their first possession in Scotland was Browfield or Broxmouth in Roxburghshire, and it is said to have been conferred by Lord Grey of Chillingham (*Grey* being the English, and *Gray* the Scottish orthography of the surname) upon a younger son, in the time of William the Lion; which younger son became the progenitor of the family which was afterwards ennobled by a Scottish peerage. Brox-

mouth was held by Sir Hugh de Gray, in the reign of Alexander II. Sir Andrew Gray, the grandson of Sir Hugh, distinguished himself as a devoted patriot under the standard of King Robert Bruce. In 1312, when Earl Randolph, nephew of the king, besieged and (with the help of his daring adherent, William Francis) surprised Edinburgh Castle, Sir Andrew was the second Scot who set foot on the walls of the fortress,—Francis being the first, and Randolph himself the third. Bruce was grateful for Gray's services throughout the war which closed at Bannockburn, and bestowed upon him the whole estates belonging to Sir Edmund de Hastings, an English knight adverse to the Scottish cause, comprising the Barony of Longforgrund or Longforgund, the lands of Craigie, Pitcarroch, Carristoun and Milntown, and others; by which gift the Gray family became first connected with the County of Perth. The Barony Court of Longforgund was commonly held, in the open air, on a mound or moot-hill called the "Hund-hill"; and its records of the year 1385 are still extant, furnishing an early specimen of the old Scottish language.

Passing on to the last quarter of the century, we reach the time of Sir Andrew Gray, seventh Baron of Broxmouth, who married Janet, daughter of Sir Roger de Mortimer, and obtained with her hand the lands of Foulis or Fowlis-Easter. The only son of this marriage was Andrew, afterwards first Lord Gray of Foulis, who, in 1418, while his father was alive, married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir John Wemyss of Rires, in Fife, and his spouse, Isabella, daughter and heiress of Sir Alexander Erskine of Inchmartine. Still during his father's lifetime, young Gray became one of the Scottish hostages for payment of the ransom of James I., and remained as such in England for upwards of three years. After his father's demise, Sir Andrew was created *Lord Gray of Foulis*, by James II. By his union with Elizabeth Wemyss, he had a son and three daughters. He married a second time,—the bride being Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Walter Buchanan,

who brought him several sons. He died before 1449, and was succeeded by the eldest son of the first marriage. Andrew, the second Lord, bore a prominent part in the national affairs of his day. Being possessed of great shrewdness and political sagacity, he was employed by James II., on two special occasions, as Ambassador to negotiate truce with England. He acquitted himself so well in these missions that he received from his royal master's hands many marks of distinction. By his marriage with a lady of his own surname, Elizabeth de Gray, though of what family she came is not known, Lord Gray had two sons, Patrick and Andrew. Patrick, Master of Gray, was Captain of the Guard to James II., and in that command became a chief actor in one of those bloody episodes which so frequently darken the page of Scottish history.

In 1451, the Earl of Douglas, swayed by soaring pride and rash and guilty ambition, and assuming a haughty and rebellious attitude towards his Sovereign, leagued himself with a party of disaffected nobles, and even with the English King, in whose interest he engaged to raise an insurrection in Scotland. Keeping his pledge, Douglas summoned his vassals in arms to the field; but one of them, a relative of the Grays, Maclellan, Tutor of Bombie, and a man of note in Galloway, refused to break his allegiance to King James, and was consequently seized by his imperious feudal lord, and thrown into the dungeons of Threave Castle, the stronghold of the Douglasses. This arrest caused alarm at Court, where the prisoner was held in high respect, and the King despatched Sir Patrick Gray with a friendly letter to the Earl, desiring him to release Maclellan. The Captain reached Threave, and on his arrival being announced, Douglas rose from the dinner-table, at which he had just sat down, and went out to the gate, but at the same time, divining the messenger's errand, gave orders for the immediate execution of Bombie! Gray was courteously received, and he presented the royal letter. "Nay, Sir Patrick,"

said the Earl, declining the missive: "you remember the proverb—'It is ill talking between a full man and a fasting.' You have not dined, and I have just risen from table. Come, dine with me; and afterwards I shall peruse your letter, and speak to you at length." Gray accompanied the Earl to table, and, when dinner was over, delivered the letter. Douglas read it to an end, whilst an ominous gloom settled on his countenance. "Much am I beholden to you, Sir Patrick Gray," he began, "for bringing me this writing from the King, seeing the ill terms on which he and I stand at this time. But, alas! it is out of my power to comply with the King's request. Still, you shall have what redress remains. Follow me." He took Gray by the hand, and led him forth to the Castle green, where the headless body of Maclellan lay weltering in blood beside the block on which he had been decapitated! "You come too late, Sir Patrick Gray," said the Earl, with affected concern. "There lies your kinsman, but without the head. Take his body, and do with it what you will." Though inexpressibly shocked, and with passion boiling within him, the Captain answered with calmness—"My Lord, since you have taken from him the head, you may dispose of the body as you please." Instantly calling for his horse, he mounted, and crossed the drawbridge; but on reaching the further end, he turned in his saddle, and hurled his defiance at the Earl, vowing that the dastardly deed should yet be avenged. The Earl, exasperated by the threat, ordered pursuit. Gray clapped spurs to his horse, and galloped off with the speed of wind. The Douglas men gave hot chase as far as within sight of Edinburgh; and had not the Captain's steed been strong and fleet, he would have been overtaken and slain. As it was, he escaped as if by miracle. But vengeance did not long tarry. Douglas, puffed up with an inordinate idea of his own power, came to Stirling Castle, in February, 1451-2, to confer with the King as to reconciliation. The interview took place in presence of Sir Patrick Gray, his father,

and other nobles. James earnestly urged the Earl to withdraw from his treasonable league,—to break his bond, and return to his fealty. The Earl steadily refused, pleading frivolous excuses, and even retorted on the King with insolence. “Then, traitor!” suddenly exclaimed the Monarch, in a voice of rage, “if thou wilt not break the bond, *this* shall!” and plucking out a dagger, thrust it into the Earl’s throat, and next into his body. No sooner were the strokes dealt than Sir Patrick Gray prostrated Douglas with a heavy blow of his pole-axe, and the attendant nobles rushing forward completed the slaughter.

King James testified his obligations to the faithful friends who stood by him in the crisis. On 26th August, 1452, he granted Lord Gray a licence to build a castle upon any part of his Baronies of Longforgund and Fowlis; although, indeed, there was already a Castle at Fowlis, the remains of which exist to the present day. Forthwith Lord Gray set men to work, and erected upon the remarkable rock overlooking the Carse, the baronial strength which, with restorations and additions, still forms the most picturesque and striking feature of an expansive and lovely landscape. It was called *Castle Huntly*; but not after a daughter of the Earl of Huntly; for no matrimonial connection between the houses of Gray and Huntly had been contracted by that time. The derivation of the name of Castle Huntly must, therefore, have otherwise arisen; and the probability is, that the rock itself upon which the castle was built, and also some portion of the subjacent lands, were originally designated *Huntly*. Moreover, it has been surmised that the rock was the site of a much earlier fortified place, and, according to the tradition of the district, was once surrounded by the Tay, so that the Kingoody stone with which Lord Gray built his castle had to be brought to the spot by water; but the alleged insularity of the rock must necessarily be assigned to a far more remote period than the year 1452. Not unlikely, therefore, that Lord Gray’s new castle was erected on the foundations of an old

fortalice. The elevation commands a magnificent prospect of plain and firth and distant hills. The Tay is traced from Newburgh down to near where its flood joins the German Ocean : beyond the breadth of blue water are the shores of Fife, over which rise the green summits of the Lomonds : all the Carse of Gowrie lies spread out in its fertile beauty like a map, bounded by the Braes and the Sidlaw Hills : yonder the eye meets the Ochills, and obtains a glimpse of fair Strathearn : and across the far northern distance stretch the Grampians.

There, in his Castle of Huntly, dwelt Andrew, second Lord Gray, and it continued as the seat of his descendants until about 1613, when the barony passed out of their hands. He died in 1469, but was predeceased by his eldest son, the Captain of the Guard, who died in 1464. The latter was twice married—first, to Margaret, daughter of Lord Fleming, who had no children ; and second, to Annabella, daughter of Lord Forbes, who had one son, Andrew, and three daughters. Lord Gray was survived by his lady, as appears by an instrument for infesting *domina Elizabetha, domina de Gray*, in the lands of Tullibothy, for her tierce, in which her husband died possessed and seized, dated 15th May, 1470. Andrew, only son of the Captain of the Guard, succeeded his grandfather, becoming third Lord Gray. He married—first, Janet, daughter of Lord Keith, by whom he had a son, Patrick, and two daughters ; and, second, Lady Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Athole, by whom he had five sons and four daughters. The eldest daughter of the first marriage, Elizabeth, married thrice—first, Lord Glamis ; second, the Earl of Huntly ; and third, the Earl of Rothes. Lord Gray's natural abilities qualified him for high position in the State, and he rose to eminence, after the Revolution which cost James III. his life. When that Monarch was opposed by a faction of the nobility, who had the young Prince James at their head, Lord Gray deserted the royal cause, and at the battle of Sauchieburn commanded the second line

of the rebel forces. He is said—though on insufficient authority—to have been one of the three horsemen who followed the King from the field, and assassinated him as he lay helpless in Beaton's Mill; but, at all events, the false priest, Borthwick, who stabbed the King, while pretending to give him absolution, had formerly been in Lord Gray's service. After Sauchieburn, promotion was lavished on Gray. He was made a Lord of the Privy Council, High Sheriff of Forfar, Justice-General benorth the Forth,—and, lastly, Justiciar of Scotland. He was infeft in the lands and baronies of Fowlis, Longforgan, Huntly, the lands of Balgillo, Broughty, with the Castle and fishings, &c. It is supposed that he built, or at least repaired and strengthened Broughty Castle, as the date, 1496, is sculptured at the north-west angle of the tower, immediately under the battlements. In 1514, the year after Flodden, Lord Gray died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Patrick, fourth Lord Gray.

The fourth Lord was twice married. His first wife was the Lady Janet Gordon, second daughter of the second Earl of Huntly, and widow of Alexander, Master of Crawford. It was this marriage which seems to have given rise to the story about the origin of the name of Castle Huntly. Lady Janet had three daughters, but no son. Lord Gray's second wife was Christina, daughter of Sir David Ogilvie, of Inchmartine, who had no children. As possessor of the Castle and fishings of Broughty, Earl Gray had violent disputes with the Lovells of Ballumby. In 1536, he seized and occupied the fishing of Dundervisheide, on the water of Tay, lying to the east of the Castle of Broughty, which fishing was claimed by Sir Hugh Lovell of Ballumby, who appealed to the law in vindication of his rights. Lord Gray was cited before the Justiciary for the offence; but when the Court-day came, he "was proved to be sick, and unable to appear." A number of persons were put to the horn for their share in the crime—three of them "for coming to the fishing divers times, threatening Lovell's servants,

breaking and destroying the boats and nets, and firing at them from the Tower of Bruchty." Lord Gray died at Castle Huntly, in April, 1541, and having no male issue, was succeeded in his lands and honours by his nephew, Patrick of Buttermgask, son of his younger brother, Gilbert.

Patrick, fifth Lord Gray, had not long attained to the inheritance, when he was taken prisoner at the Rout of Solway, and was obliged to pay ransom to his English captors. On the Magdalene-Day of 1545 he led the attack upon the town of Perth with the purpose of installing Charteris of Kinfauns as Provost, but the foolhardy enterprise was signally defeated by the Master of Ruthven and the armed citizens. Although in this instance Gray was playing Cardinal Beaton's game, yet he bore no good will to that proud and arrogant ecclesiastic; and in the following January, Lords Rothes and Gray and Mr Henry Balnaves were treacherously seized in Dundee by the Regent Arran and the Cardinal, and committed to Blackness Castle, where they endured a short period of imprisonment. During the English invasion of 1547, Lord Gray held aloof, and would not bring his forces to the Regent's muster: and after the Battle of Pinkie he was charged with having collusively surrendered his Castle of Broughty to the enemy. For which treasons the Regent made preparations for attacking Castle Huntly, unless it should be given over to him; and Gray himself was arrested and confined in Edinburgh Castle, but after a time was released without being brought to trial. The English garrison held Broughty Castle stoutly, and set up another fort on the hill of Balgillo. They repelled several assaults of the Regent's troops; and it was not until a trained force of French and Germans came to the aid of the Scots that both places were surrendered. Balgillo fort was then pulled down, and the fortifications of Broughty were dismantled. In 1555, Lord Gray had a curious transaction with a criminal at the bar of the Court of Justiciary. A man, named Nicholas Ramsay, was convicted, on 4th February, 1554-5, "of

art and part of the cruel slaughter of Patrick *alias* Pawtoun Henry," and was beheaded; but as the record bears, "the said Nichol before his conviction, made the Lord Gray, in judgment, [in the Court], his cessioner and assignee, *in uberiori forma*, to the Reversion made to him by Alexander Raa, aient the loosing fra him of ane fore-land in the burgh of Perth, beside the Fish-market." Lord Gray seems to have supported the cause of the Reformation, though he does not appear prominently in the popular struggle. By his marriage with Marian, daughter of Lord Ogilvie of Airlie, he had five sons (the eldest being named Patrick) and seven daughters. Like his uncle, he involved himself in troubles with the Lovells of Ballumby. These Lovells were fallen out among themselves. The father, Henry Lovell, liferenter of Ballumby, was over head and ears in debt; and it would appear that his eldest son, John, called the "fiar" or heir, took the possession and management of the lands, which probably gave occasion to quarrels with Lord Gray. Henry Lovell was put to the horn, on 26th May, 1572; surety was found for him, on 11th July; and on the 21st of the same month, he gave caution to restore to Thomas Schippert the four oxen stolen from him, and also that he should not molest his son, John Lovell, fiar of Ballumby; while the said John gave caution that he should not molest his father. But on the 8th August following, the father and son, and James Melville in Easter Forrye, were before the Justiciary for refusing to appear before the Regent and Council, when Henry was given into custody, and his son and Melville found surety. The case with Lord Gray came on next.

A complaint was brought before the Privy Council on 17th February, 1572-3, at the instance of John Lovell, younger of Ballumby, stating that his fishings "called Inchevin, Dundargisheid, Stanneris, and Carfaw, lying foranent his lands of Monyfuith, Justingleyis, and Englismonchtie," had been wrongously seized by the Lord Gray and his son, and that his (Lovell's) servants and fishers were maltreated, wounded, and put

in peril of their lives, whenever they attempted to work these fishings; the servants of Gray "coming forth of the place of Broughty, and naming them (Lovell's men) the Prince of Condy and Duke of Savoy's servants, in mere mockage and contempt of our Sovereign Lord, his authority and justice, that the said John should not enter to brook, and enjoy his proper fishings of the sea and water of Tay." It was further stated that this sort of oppression had been going on for a long time; that the said John Lovell had taken proceedings, and applied successively to the Regents Moray and Lennox; but the Grays resisted all the decrees of justice. For example, the said John "caused lately John Soutar, messenger, pass and enter him, his nets and cobles, to the said Fishings; but nevertheless James Gray, brother-german to the said Master of Gray, accompanied with George Gray, son to Robert Gray *alias* Clarie, Alexander Gray, servitors to Patrick Lord Gray, Patrick Ogilvy, and others their accomplices, to the number of twelve persons, bodin in feir of weir,—of the causing, command, and ratihabition of the said Lord and Master of Gray,—at all times reset and repairing in the place of Broughty,—cruelly unbeset the said officer in his passage to the said fishings, and not only deforced him in execution of our Sovereign Lord's letters, but also cruelly dang and struck him to the great effusion of his blood, whereof he has lien continually bedfast sinsyne, and in point and danger of his life." For all which acts of injustice the said John Lovell humbly craved redress. The case was called, and the defenders not compearing, the Council ordered them to be denounced rebels. But within the week, on the 23d February, Patrick, Lord Gray; James Scrimgeour, Constable of Dundee; Alexander Maxwell of Teling; and David Maxwell, his son and heir, are heard of as having resetted three of the Lovell family, who lay under denunciation as rebels! In the Court of Justiciary, of the last-mentioned date, "John Lovell, fiar of Ballumby, being oftymes called for production and again bringing of the

letters duly execute and endorsed, purchased by the King's Advocate to take surety of Patrick Lord Gray, &c., to underly the law for reset and intercommuning with Harry Lovell of Ballumby, Patrick and David Lovell, his sons, and others, being denounced rebels and at the horn; and not producing nor reporting the same, was therefore unlaured in the pains following, viz., for the said Lord Gray, in the pain of”
[blank in record.]

But more has to be told of the Lovells. The father, as we have said, was drowned in debt, and being a liferenter, and his son, John, evidently holding the lands, the creditors had no chance of payment; but they raised a clamour, which brought about an arrangement in their interest. John was obliged to enter into a contract with his father, at Holyrood House, on 19th August, 1573, whereby he (John) became bound for most of these debts. On the 17th February following, John Peebles, burgess of Perth, gave in a petition to the Privy Council, setting forth that he having boarded and lodged Henry in his house within the said burgh, for a certain space, a debt had been incurred to him, amounting to £100; which sum the Lords ordained John Lovell to pay before the 1st of May next. The father was again complained against to the Privy Council, on the 27th January, 1574-5. Certain “puir tenants of West Ferry and Monyfuith, pertaining to the living of Ballumby,” petitioned on the ground “that where Henry Lovell, elder of Ballumby, has, since his last coming to the parts of Angus, accompanied with certain wicked persons, sitten down in the house of the said Helen Buckhame, and by way of deid shot her out of the same; and has casten down the houses of the said Christian Walker, Andrew Melville, Henry Barry, and John Rodger; and has tane and brunt ane boat pertaining to the said Thomas Leyis; and sic like has put the said Robert Selkirk fra his coble-fishing, and cutted his nets; and last come to the dwelling-house of the said Henry Knight, and brak his brewing-lumes, and shortly thereafter unbeset him at eight hours in the

night, coming fra Dundee, and invaded him with ane drawn sword, and cast ane whinger at him; like as he has used invasion and oppression of the said tenants continually since his last coming in the said parts of Angus." The Lords appointed the diet of proof to be on the 10th of February; but the case is not noticed again in the Register. Ultimately, the lands of Ballumby were acquired by the Grays.*

* Douglas' *Peerage of Scotland*; Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xix., p. 474; Tytler's *History of Scotland*; Pitcottie's *Cronicles of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 96; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i., part 1st, pp. 178, 374, part 2d, pp. 37, 41; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 138, 156, 157, 188, 335, 429.

CASTLE HUNTLY.—Part 2nd.

I was the Queen o' bonnie France,
Where happy I hae been;
Fu' lightly rase I in the morn,
As blythe lay down at e'en :
And I'm the sov'reign o' Scotland,
And mony a traitor there;
Yet here I lie in foreign bands
And never-ending care.

Burns.

IN the spring of 1574, the Privy Council dealt with Lord Gray regarding a case of alleged oppression. A petition was presented, on 29th April, by Master Richards Spens, to the effect that, years previously, he had obtained a decree against Lord Gray, decerning him to flit and remove himself from "ane quarter of the town and lands of Nether Durdie": that for disobedience thereto, his Lordship was denounced rebel, and had continued so for the bypast eight years; and that he "remains at the said horn, and comes where he pleases, and abides in Edinburgh, taking no care thereof, oppressing the said complainer therethrough, in high contempt of God and all authority, he paying therefore yearly fourscore marks by the said space, and can get no remede, but he, his father, with seven bairns, therethrough put to extreme poverty, by reason they have na other thing to live upon, to their great skaith." Under these circumstances of high contumacy, the Council ordained letters "charging the said Patrick Lord Gray to pass and enter his person in ward within the Castle of Dumbarton, therein to remain at his own expenses, ay and till he have fulfilled the command and tenor of the said other letters, and obtained himself relaxed fra the said process of horn." Whether Lord Gray now obtempered the Council's mandate is not stated; but as the Register mentions him as a member of the Privy Council, and present at a meeting, on 12th May, 1575, we may infer that he

had, in the interval, fully rehabilitated himself. His demise occurred in 1582, when his eldest son, Patrick, succeeded him.

Patrick, sixth Lord Gray, ought to have shone, in his walk and conversation, as a model of propriety, by reason that he was twice promoted to the judicial bench. While Master of Gray, he was made an Extraordinary Lord of Session, on 8th May, 1578, in room of Lord Boyd, but only kept the office for five months. He was superseded by Boyd, on 25th October, in consequence of a letter from the king to the Lords, stating that "he had lately ordained the Master of Gray to be received into the extraordinary place of Robert, Lord Boyd, though he had neither demitted his place of his own good will, nor yet was he removed through any offence or occasion ministrated by him, but simply upon narratives made to us in his absence; and now since the said Lord Boyd attends diligently, and we and our Estates of Parliament have chosen him to be one of our Privy Council, we require you, and it is our resolute will and meaning, to receive him again to his extraordinary place, removing hence the Master of Gray." Not long after the Master became Lord Gray, he was a second time appointed to a seat in the Session, —on the 12th November, 1584,—but not in room of Lord Boyd, who had been displaced by the Earl of Arran, in 1583. Lord Gray held his post till 21st June, 1586, when he gave way finally to Lord Boyd, who sat for two years. Lord Gray married Barbara, youngest daughter of William, second Lord Ruthven. She bore five sons and five daughters; but latterly she and her husband lived unhappily, and seem to have separated. Lord Gray died in 1609. He was reputed a Roman Catholic.

The eldest of the five sons was Patrick, the celebrated Master of Gray, whose career rendered him the most remarkable adventurer of his day. Scottish historians pourtray him in colours so odious, that, to find his parallel as a master of dissimulation and unprincipled state-craft, we must search among the

Machiavellian politicians of Italy. But have not our historians overdone the picture in drawing a character destitute of a single redeeming quality—a monster in nature? They shew us a youth—almost a beardless boy—perplexing and surpassing veteran adepts in the art of Court intrigue,—winding Kings and Queens and astute statesmen about his finger like bits of packthread, and hurrying them into crime, out of his sheer love of mischief, treachery, and murder! Let us glance through the story of his life, with the aid of the light of common sense.

He was educated at the University of St Andrews, and left it early,—in his fifteenth or sixteenth year, according to a document in Calderwood's *History*, which proceeds to say that at College “he professed the true religion, and communicated with the faithful at the Table of the Lord. Thereafter he was married to a young gentlewoman of good parentage and fame, whom he hath now repudiated, like as his father also hath cast away his mother”—which marriage, however, is very doubtful. “So, about a year after his marriage, he passeth to France,”—the land of promise to young Scotsmen desirous of pushing their way in the world. Fortune smiled on the Master above crowds of his fellows. Nature had lavishly endowed him with personal graces. His figure was strikingly handsome: his countenance cast somewhat in a mould of feminine beauty: his manner polished, and his address pleasing and insinuating to a degree. Although yet a stripling, his intellect was precocious, indicating a strong aptitude for affairs of State: and an ambition burned within him to which no bound was set. He lightly shook off his Protestantism at the French Court,—became familiar with Scottish Catholics, and Jesuits of the Seminary at Paris,—and wormed himself into the confidence of the Duke of Guise, who was conducting a close correspondence with Mary, Queen of Scots, then the captive of Elizabeth. Young Gray was engaged by Guise as an agent in this delicate service, whereby his name became favourably known to

the unfortunate Queen. It is asserted that the new agent speedily formed the resolution of disclosing the secrets of Mary and Guise to their enemies across the water. To carry out this scheme, he had to transfer himself to Scotland, where his peculiar talents might find a wide field for their exercise. By good chance, at that juncture, the young Duke of Lennox was on the eve of returning home from France. Gray accompanied him. When they reached Scotland, they were both warmly welcomed by the Earl of Arran, who had overcome his enemies, the Lords of the Ruthven faction, and was the supreme royal favourite, but universally detested by the people. Gray was presented to the King, and imparted to him all the secrets of his hapless mother's party; but might not this communication have been made, by the private instructions of Guise, with the view of bringing round the King to support his mother's interest? James was well pleased with the revelation, and prepared to profit by it. Filial affection had no place in his breast. He dreaded that Mary might be released, and "associated" with him in the Sovereignty of Scotland: above all, he trembled to offend Elizabeth, lest she should baulk him of her succession. What did he do? He first gave Gray rewards,—made him Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Master of the Wardrobe, a Member of the Privy Council, and, in 1584, Commendator of the Abbey of Dunfermline,—and then betrayed the projects of his mother's friends to the English Queen! In August, 1584, while negotiations between Elizabeth and James were in progress, the Earl of Arran was sent to hold a conference, on the Border, with Lord Hunsdon, the English Envoy; and by the King's appointment, for a special end, the Master of Gray went with the mission. The meeting was at Foulden Kirk, near Berwick; and when the discussion had gone some length, Arran brought forward Gray, who delivered to the English representative a letter to him from King James, relating to the conspiracies against Queen Elizabeth professedly hatching by the unscrupulous emissaries of

Queen Mary. Was this the act of a dutiful son? In such fashion was Gray's disclosures turned to account. Moreover, Gray told Hunsdon, as a dead secret, that James was about to accredit him as Scottish Ambassador to the Court of England, where he would unfold much more of the plotting for Queen Mary. Hunsdon kept the secret by blabbing it all out to the English Minister, Lord Burghley. "He is very young," wrote Hunsdon, of Gray, "but wise and secret, as Arran doth assure me. He is, no doubt, very inward with the Scottish Queen, and all her affairs, both in England and France; yea, and with the Pope, for he is accounted a Papist; but for his religion, your Lordship will judge when you see him." Inklings of what was going on reached the ears of the French Ambassador and Mary; but Gray, in a letter to the captive Queen, strove to re-assure her by pointing out how the policy which he was now pursuing would ultimately advance her cause.

To England went Gray as Ambassador. He was soon in the thick of business,—plotting with Elizabeth,—not against Mary specially, but against Arran, his patron, and for and against the recall of the banished Ruthven (or Protestant) Lords. He told Elizabeth, it is affirmed, that he possessed a great deal more information about the underhand work of Mary's partisans, which he would reveal if she delivered up the banished Lords, or expelled them from her dominions, and also if she gave an annual pension to King James. But he had an alternative policy, which he next expounded—to overthrow Arran, recal the Lords to Scotland, and form a grand Protestant league between the two kingdoms! The bold projector succeeded in his second programme. Arran was circumvented, and driven from power, and the banished Lords were brought back, and enabled to wrest their own terms from the King. This revolution, decidedly beneficial to Scotland, being effected, a strong necessity somehow arose that Archibald Douglas, one of Darnley's murderers, and now an exile in England, should also be brought

back. He was to be useful to Elizabeth; and she having promised King James a pension of £4000, the needy Sovereign was willing to allow of Archibald's return, provided that he cleared himself of the Kirk of Field crime. The assassin came down to Edinburgh, in May, 1586, with a commendatory letter in his favour from Elizabeth to James: and this is how he was received by Darnley's son:—

Advertisement was made that the King was coming, and commanded that no man should remain in the chamber. After whose entry some speeches being uttered by me, . . . I delivered Her Majesty's letter, which being read, he uttered these or the like speeches: "At your departure, I was your enemy, and now at your returning I am and shall be your friend." "For your surety I must confess Her Majesty's request in your favour to be honourable and favourable." "I will impute unto you neither foreknowledge, neither concealing, and desire that you may advise with my Secretary what may be most agreeable to my honour and your surety in trial, and it shall be performed."

Douglas was to be put through the farce of a trial, and whitewashed; and the King, looking after the main chance, thought it now high time that he should have an instalment—say, £1000—of his £4000 pension: so the Master of Gray wrote to Walsingham, the English Secretary, on 17th May:—

Mr Archd. Douglas shall be, God willing, very shortly put to a trial—for the K. since my last hath condescended to all things, and they who of before opposed themselves are now content of friendship. I pray you, albeit the matter be not great, that if the £1000 can be had that it be, for I had enough to do for to cause the K. receive it, and some directly opposed themselves and was glad to have occasion. But it shall not be needful Her Majesty know so much. I leave you, sir, in God's hely protection.

From our Court the 17 of May.

A very likely story that there could have been "enough to do" in getting the King's gracious consent to receive part of a pension, for which he had been gaping for years! The virtuous monarch, on 21st May, issued a pardon under the Great Seal to Douglas,—not obviating, however, the trial. Douglas was put to the bar, charged with being accessory to Darnley's death: the jury was packed: the Master of Gray was foreman:

and the panel was dismissed under a verdict of "Not Guilty." Having been thus declared an innocent man, he was despatched as Ambassador to England: and the tragedy of Queen Mary was played out to its dread conclusion.

When the deadly designs of Elizabeth against Mary became clearly apparent to the Scottish people, there was a general clamour for warlike demonstration. The "blue bonnets" would have risen *en masse* and swept across the Border, had not the destined victim's son been a dead-weight upon the generous feelings of his subjects. He temporised: he shrunk from drawing the sword: his only resource was negotiation, in which he had always been overreached and befooled. At length he was enforced to write a letter, couched in threatening terms. Elizabeth, on hearing it read, flew into a furious passion, and was with difficulty dissuaded from turning the Scottish Ambassador neck and heels out of doors! King James was duly informed of this ebullition, and fell into a tremor of fear,—wrote a letter of humble apology for his warmth in his mother's behalf, and sent it up to London by the hands of Sir Robert Melvill, a man of sterling integrity, and the Master of Gray. There were now several Scottish Ambassadors in England, all pleading for Mary's life. As to Gray's conduct in the mission, we have the testimony of his colleague. In a letter to King James, dated at London, 20th January, 1586-7, Sir Robert Melvill wrote—"The Master of Gray has behaved himself very uprightly and discreetly in this charge, and evil tane with by divers in these parts who were of before his friends." But one and all pled in vain. And we are given the reason why they pled in vain. "The greatest hinder," said Melvill and Gray, in a letter to James, of date 21st January, 1586-7—"The greatest hinder which our negotiation has found hitherto is a persuasion they have here that either your Majesty deals superficially in this matter, or that with time ye may be moved to digest it." This plain speaking might have stirred the veriest clod; but it failed to stir King James. Another story goes—

a deliberate falsehood, as we take it—that the Master of Gray betrayed his trust by privately counselling Elizabeth to put her captive to death, and reminding her that “the dead don’t bite.” But what was Gray to gain by Mary’s execution? And what instigation did Elizabeth need from Gray to destroy her hated rival? Mary’s life was not now threatened for the first time. It had been threatened repeatedly during her long captivity. A compact had been formed with Regent Moray, and after him with the Regent Mar, that their defenceless Queen should be sent across the Scottish Border, and immediately beheaded under colour of Scottish law. It was next proposed to take her off by poison. Again, a warrant had been signed for her murder without even the form of trial. Does anybody pretend that Gray advised these successive villainies? For years, Elizabeth had been bent on Mary’s destruction: and characteristically enough, at the eleventh hour, an order for her secret assassination, to save a public scandal, was despatched to Sir Amias Paulet, the keeper of Fotheringay. It was dated at London, 1st February, 1586-7. How did the stern knight receive it? His proud sense of honour and justice violently revolting, he replied thus—

Your letters of yesterday, coming to my hands this present day at five in the afternoon, I would not fail, according to your directions, to return my answer with all possible speed; which I shall deliver unto you with great grief and bitterness of mind, in that I am so unhappy to have lived to see this unhappy day, in the which I am required, by direction from my most gracious Sovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. My good livings and life are at her Majesty’s disposition, and I am ready to lose them this next morrow, if it shall so please her: acknowledging that I told them as of her mere and gracious favour. I do not desire them to enjoy them but with her Highness’ good liking; but God forbid that I should make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience, or leave so great a blot to my poor posterity, to shed blood without law or warrant.

How the poltroon King of Scots, with his beggarly bribe in his pocket, dwarfs down when put side by side with this honest-hearted Englishman!

The foul deed which Sir Amias disdained to per-

petrate was soon consummated in open day. "Long have I doubted and speculated," said Mary, "for these eighteen or nineteen years, from day to day, upon all that was about to happen to me." Her doubts and speculations were finally set at rest. The "law and warrant" were put in force; and she died under the axe of the headsman, on Wednesday morning, the 8th February. Immediately a great outcry—a cry of shame and detestation broke out over England and Scotland. But Elizabeth was prompt with her defence. She protested her innocence, and solemnly called upon the Searcher of all Hearts to witness the truth of her asseveration. She had signed the death-warrant, and ordered the Secretary, Davidson, never to enter her presence again until the deed was done: but—she had never intended the carrying out of the warrant, and Davidson had done it of his own accord! Such was the pretence set up in England to calm the national indignation. An idiotic counterpart was concocted in Scotland. King James, who had shaken hands with one of the assassins of his father for the sake of £1000, was not greatly distressed by his mother's fate. A welcome pension could be coined out of it; and he was well content to wait patiently till he could rake the crown and sceptre of England out of the bloody puddle around his mother's headless corpse in Fotheringay Hall! But in the excited state of public feeling a scapegoat was needed to bear the disgrace away into the wilderness. A scapegoat was found in the Master of Gray, who, as the lying accusation went, had covertly advised Queen Mary's murder. "There had a rumour gone," says Archbishop Spottiswoode, "of a letter written by the Master to the Queen of England, after his parting from that Court, advising her to put the Queen of Scots out of the way; and the words he had used, *Mordui non mordent*, Dead folks bite not, were in every man's mouth." The rumour was eagerly caught up, and a clamour was fomented against the Master. Much there was—too much—that would not bear the light

in the devices by which he had climbed to favour ; but this last imputation he boldly faced, denouncing it as a groundless calumny. Was any attempt made to prove it upon him ? We shall see. He was committed to the Castle of Edinburgh, as a State prisoner, and after a little while was apparently cajoled to submit himself as a victim, upon condition that no harm should befall him. He was brought to trial : and the indictment ran as follows :—

DITTAY against the Master of Gray.

PATRICK, MASTER OF GRAY, ye are indicted and accused, that ye have lately, within the space of this year bypast, written, dealt, and travelled to France, for sundry matters prejudicial to the Religion presently professed by our Sovereign Lord and his subjects; and therefore to have had liberty of conscience, or otherwise to say form of Religion, to have been used at every man's ain appetite within the realm; in contrair the tenor of the Acts of Parliament; incurring therethrough the pains contained in the same. *Secondly*, Indicted and accused, that during the time foresaid, he has intended to deal with some persons in France, that by their moyane [influence], through his information, our Sovereign's marriage with the King of Denmark's daughter (being ane deed honest and lawful in presence of God and men) might have been stayed; taking therethrough upon him, without any warrant, further than became ane subject of his duty to have done; specially, in that his intencion tended to the hindrance of the King's marriage, being ane act profitable to the commonwealth of this realm. *Thirdly*, Indicted and accused, for the undutifnl writing of letters, concerning the state of his Majesty and the realm, in England; without his Majesty's knowledge or command, therethrough exceeding far the duty of ane subject. *Fourthly*, Indicted that he has travelled in matters that might have destroyed the estate of this realm, whilk travel, gif it had tane effect, his Majesty's person might have been endangered, committing therethrough the crime of Treason. *Fifthly*, Indicted for counterfeiting of the King's stamp [the *cashet*, or *cachet*, used to relieve his Majesty from the trouble of signing many official papers], and putting of the same to ane letter written with his Majesty's ain hand, without his command or authority to do the same; and siclike, for retaining and keeping of the same stamp in his hands. *Sixthly*, Indicted for divers and sundry other offences and crimes of Treason, already declared and confessed by him to his Majesty's self; whereof he is guilty; whilk he can not deny. Likeas the hail points of Dittay above written are of verity, as he can not deny the same, nor na part thereof.

Here we have the whole allegations against

Gray. The mountain had brought forth a most ridiculous mouse! Not a syllable connected with his betrayal of the King's mission to save Queen Mary's life. That, if true, should have formed the head and front of the Dittay; but, being a falsehood, it becomes conspicuous only by its absence. We have seen that Gray had delivered Scotland from the tyranny of Arran, and brought back the Protestant Lords of the Ruthven party. Now, he is libelled, in the first place, with seeking to establish the cardinal principle of "Liberty of Conscience." Was that a crime? Let the man—whatever he was, bad as he might be—have fairplay. All the other charges save one are stated with dexterous ambiguity,—the slightest approach to detail being carefully avoided. The Master "intended" to do this and the next thing. He "intended" to prevent the marriage of King James with Anne of Denmark; but he never took a single step in that direction. Why, not long after, a similar accusation was laid against the North Berwick witches and warlocks, who baptized cats, and sailed the seas in riddles or sieves, drinking flaggons of wine, to capsize the King and his Danish bride on their homeward voyage! The only other item worth notice is the affixing of the King's stamp to a letter which he had written with his own hand, and strangely forgot to sign. The letter, therefore, was a genuine letter. Had Gray forged the letter and put the cachet to it, there would have been good ground for prosecution; but as it stands, the count is altogether flimsy and absurd.

The trial of the Master came on, in the Court of Justiciary, on the 23d May, 1587, and was as much a collusive one as that of Archibald Douglas had been. The panel, to suit the King's ends, did not defend himself, but "became in our Sovereign's Lord's will and mercy for the said crimes." He was condemned. But the sentence was a solemn farce, like the rest of the procedure. He was pardoned, and permitted to retire abroad. "None lamented his disgrace," writes Tytler; "for, although still young in years, Gray was old in falsehood and crime"—what *crime*? And the historian,

with the coolest audacity, declares that Gray's "most flagrant offence, *which was completely proved*, was the base betrayal of his trust in his recent negotiation in England, where he secretly recommended the death, instead of pleading for the life, of the Scottish Queen." On the contrary, this "offence" has never been "completely proved,"—was never attempted to be proved,—was never formally charged against Gray,—and was known to be wholly incapable of proof. It was "a rumour"—nothing more.*

**Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 355, 449; Lord Hailes' *Catalogue of the Lords of Session*; Robertson's *History of Scotland*; Tytler's *History of Scotland*; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. part 2d, pp. 144, 157; Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 253; M'Neel Caird's *Mary Stuart*, pp. 201, 269; Archbishop Spottiswoode's *History of the Church of Scotland*, book vi.

CASTLE HUNTLY.—Part 3rd.

'Tis dangerous to approach the fire
Of action; nor is't safe, far to retire.
Yet better lost i' th' multitude
Of private men, than on the State t' intrude
And hazard for a doubtful smile
My stock of fame, and inward peace to spoil.
Habington's "Castara."

THE Master of Gray's fall involved his divestiture of all offices held by him. The Commendatorship of Dunfermline was bestowed upon the Earl of Huntly, by letters under the Great Seal, dated 26th May, 1587; which transfer was made an item in the "Grievances of the Kirk given in to the King's Majesty," by the General Assembly of February, 1587-8; but the representation had no effect. The Parliament of 1587 also annulled several tacks, feus, and alienations which Gray had granted of the Abbey lands. Gray's term of banishment proved short; for, in 1589, he obtained the King's permission to return home, and appeared at Court, and essayed to dabble in State affairs. But his day was over. He regained no influence, no position; and failure being gall and wormwood to a proud and restless aspirant such as he was, he withdrew, for another brief season, to the Continent.

One of the Master's younger brothers, James, was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King James, and retained that post for some years after the trial in 1587, but at length he, too, fell into disgrace, and took French leave of his service, making free with a horse from the royal stables. The King was provoked by the loss of his good steed; and accordingly, on 17th December, 1591, Lord Gray was ordained by the Privy Council, to "bring, present, and deliver to his Majesty's stablers, upon the 12th day of January next to come, his highness' ain horse, called . . . [name left blank], whilk was dishonestly tane away by James

Gray, son to the said Lord, and some time servant to his Majesty; as also, to bring and present the said James before his highness, or expel him furth of this realm, betwixt and the last day of the said month of January; and failing hereof that the said lord pass and enter his person in ward within the Castle of Dumbarton."

About this period, the Master seems to have come home; as we find that after the notorious Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, had commenced his mad attempts to seize the King's person, Gray was strongly suspected of complicity with him: and on 14th April, 1592, the Privy Council denounced Patrick, Master of Gray, and Robert, another of his brothers, for not appearing "to have answered to sic things as should have been enquired of them at their coming, touching the reset, intercommuning, and having intelligence with Francis, some time Earl Bothwell, and his accomplices, culpable of the late treasonable fact, committed within the Palace of Holyroodhouse." The brothers were further proceeded against on 8th June following, of which date the Council issued a proclamation, forbidding all the lieges, to "reset, supply, nor intercommune with Patrick, Master of Gray, and Robert Gray, his brother." But not long afterwards they must have made their peace; for in the end of the year the Master was named, on the King's part, as having given information that the Rev. Robert Bruce was a favourer and harbourer of Bothwell. Mr Bruce demanded to be brought to trial upon the charge, which he utterly denied, declaring, in a sermon, that "the King was environed with liars"—an assertion which was so far supported when the Master of Gray publicly denied that he had accused the minister, and offered to vindicate him in single combat with any man except the king. Nobody took up the challenge, and the charge against Mr Bruce collapsed.

In 1593, James Gray was twice guilty of a species of lawlessness unhappily frequent in that wild-living age—namely, the abduction of an heiress. Being a

younger brother, he was evidently bent on bettering his fortune by a wealthy marriage. He had bestowed his regards on "a gentlewoman, apparent heir to her father, John Carnegie;" but his advances being unreciprocated, he seized her by force. The Privy Council, however, compelled him to restore her to her father. The ardent wooer was balked for the nonce; but he watched his opportunity, and again carried off the lady—now, as Calderwood, the historian tells, "out of Robert Gowssei's house, in Edinburgh, where she and her father remained for the time:" she "was hailed down a close to the North Loch, and convoyed over in a boat, where there were about ten or twelve men on the other side to receive her. They set her upon a man's saddle, and convoyed her away, her hair hanging about her face. The Lord Home kepted the High Street with armed men till the fact was accomplished." Whether James wedded her, or had to deliver her back to her friends, is not stated, and there is no record of any legal prosecution in the case. We next meet with the Master in 1595. He was still in Scotland, and apparently on fair-enough terms with the Court; for the Privy Council, on 17th February, 1594-5, passed an Act "anent demolishing of the place, houses, and fortalice of the *Craig*, pertaining to John Ogilvy," and granted full commission to Patrick, Lord Gray, and Patrick, Master of Gray, as Sheriffs-Principal of Forfarshire, to take all necessary steps for that purpose.

The Master again repaired to the Continent. He was at Paris in November, 1598: and from that date till about the middle of the year 1601 he carried on an anxious correspondence with the view of reinstating himself in the good graces of King James. Portions of this correspondence are preserved amongst the archives of the Earl of Moray, and have been printed *ad longum* by the Royal Commissioners on Historical Manuscripts in their Sixth Report. These letters are new to history, and will amply repay attentive perusal. The Master longed with all his heart for office or employment under

the King either at home or abroad, and strained every nerve for that object—boasting, probably with perfect truth, that he possessed exclusive means of obtaining intelligence respecting the doings of foreign Courts. Moreover, he was hard pressed in a pecuniary point of view: he had been put to the horn in Scotland for debt (though the King still owed him a good round sum, which might have cleared his feet): and he was at variance with his father and others of the family. The world's cold shoulder was turned towards him. To such a mind, yearning for political life and power, "the languor of inglorious days" was doubly oppressive. From Paris, he wrote, on 9th November, 1598, to the Duke of Lennox, proffering his services to King James: pointing out that he could furnish such secret information as the Scottish agents or "ambassadors will never attain to;" and desiring the Duke "to sound his Majesty, and let me know indeed his meaning towards me." Lennox's answer is awaiting. At Brussels, the Master wrote to Lord Home, on 3d November, 1599. Another gap occurs; but towards the close of 1600, Gray ventured to cross the Channel, and came to Chillingham, in England, whence he sent an announcement of his arrival to King James. On the 11th November, the Monarch wrote him a letter from Holyrood House, saying—

In respect of the manifold advertisements given to us of your over great busyness in matters aboon your reach, and that this coming to remain so near our Borders can carry no good presumption, however ye may be innocent of things laid to your charge, it is therefore our will that with all goodly expedition ye retire yourself out of the bounds of England to France, and there take up your residence in Orleans, or any other part at your pleasure distant from the sea-coast, for a certain space, during our will, till we see by experience and your quiet behaviour your more willing affection to our service than we have been informed of thir times bypast, otherwise we cannot but take your great busyness in evil part, and be daily more confirmed in the verity of the reports of you whilk from all parts come daily to our ears.

Lord Balmerino, the Scottish Secretary of State,—with whom the exile had been corresponding, and who was

his friend and well-wisher,—also sent him a letter, of same date, advising obedience to the royal will :—

Now being directed by his Majesty to send you answer of a letter of your ain, whilk please herewith receive, I would not omit to accompany the same with thir few lines, whereby ye shall understand that, as I wrote to you before, his Majesty is more and more incensed against you, being informed of your dealing in many purposes nothing to his Majesty's either weal or honour. The advertisements comes of so good part that it is hard not to credit them, and except ye be transported from the opinion I have seen you in, they are not likely to be true. The particulars are so many and langsome that they were tedious to write ; but, in short, for the good-will I have ever professed to yourself and your house, and that conjunction of blood that is betwixt our bairns, I pray you obey his Majesty, retire yourself out of the world for a season, till your part and other men's doing may be seen ; for I hope they serve themselves of your ministry that their turn being served they have small regard to the instrument, and others continues their credit by calumniating of you, when it may be they bewray his Majesty's service themselves. Your retreat will make this thing manifest, and continuing yourself in obeying his Majesty, and neither for good nor evil meddling you with any matter of estate shall be your first best. And when it shall please his Majesty to give you access unto him, ye shall see all is laid against you and by whom. And albeit I have earnestly prayed that his Majesty should put you to a trial, he has refused till first ye give obedience to his command by retiring yourself to some solitude in France for a short space. In doing whereof, as ye will liberate yourself of many calumnies, so will it give place to your friends to procure your return.

This repulse must have been a bitter disappointment to the Master. His backbiters at Court were as yet too strong for him. Nevertheless, he struggled to keep his footing and avoid a return to expatriation. He sent a reply to Lord Balmerino, on 24th November, defending himself in strong and indignant language,—as a few passages will show :—

For my business, I protest to God, the greatest of it hath been to keep myself from necessity of hunger and cold ; for I defy all princes on earth to say that I am in their danger of one shilling. . . . but I never have served any prince but my ain since my being furth of the country. As if his Majesty had not been transported with calumny, I should have given him reckoning sufficiently. But wherein is this I could prejudice his service? Was I ever acquaint with any his designs, when

knaves, unworthy beasts whom he employed, through their foolish carriage, abused his name? Then, because it may be I have better access to princes than some others has, they seek to excuse their unworthiness to me. . . . When your lordship writes that the advertisements cometh from so good part, I say the advertisers are false knaves, and I shall abide by it; and where ye account the best parts, I am assured they have least good intelligence to send his Majesty: for me, I am sorry for it; for, if they had good or assured intelligence they would not amuse his Majesty with [so frivolous lies of his ain poor subjects. As for obeying his Majesty's letter, I was never of other deliberation; for I came here to see my wife and bairns, if the storm had permitted. . . . But that my retiring will clear me, it is folly. I have sufficient proof to the contrary; for five year before my parting, I lived in Scotland like a peasant, and yet I was ever wrongously calumniated, and his Majesty incensed against me; and now I intruded myself in a monastery, where I protest to Almighty God I meddled never with estate; yet all avails not. So if I would become a monk I know it will not serve the turn. Yet I shall obey, and shall serve wherever there is wars in Europe, for I will get a horseman's pay, and by —! I will take it, for that will make me live, and the sight will give me contentment, and there devil a man there is with whom I can deal. If this cannot serve, in conscience I know not what will.

He also replied to the King, but the letter is awanting. Abiding still at Chillingham, he received another letter from Lord Balmerino, and acknowledged it on 9th December, and in doing so, spoke harshly of several of his friends and his father:—

As touching my friends, of all I complain not, for I have some as honest and as loving as any Scottish born; but indeed of my father and some others I have had sufficient proof of unkindness. As for that regret your lordship alleges both yourself and them to have, that I am carried from a desire to settle myself and to live quiet, think not, my lord, that I am that senseless, but I have a desire as any in earth has, but all men knoweth not my difficulties. It is not on the trifle I have that quiet living can do my turn, and if I should live longer in that sort I discredit myself perpetually; not but that I intend always to be a Scotsman, and all the care I have in earth how to be it with my ain honour and contentment of my friends. As for my father's carriage, my lord, think not that it will mend willingly; for he had never a care yet of bairn or house, and if I had taken rigorously the benefit of the laws, I needed not to have been pindit with him as I have been, but let matters work as shall please God.

Contrary, perhaps, to all expectation, the King reconsidered his previous decision, and changed his mind,

and wrote to the Master, inviting him to Scotland. This sudden turn was probably owing to the earnest dealing of the Secretary. Here is the royal epistle:—

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. We have received your letter, Chillingham the 9th of December instant; and where ye write that for our contentment ye would retire yourself out of England, we think if ye be disposed according to your letter, that your retreat can be in no part else better nor in Scotland; for, coming, as ye write, upon your ain peril, if they be calumnies that have been hitherto laid against you, clearing yourself of them and giving us proof of your affection to serve us, we cannot but think well of you, neither can we think but as you write your greatest well may be expected at our hands, whereof ye shall rest assured if your deportments bypast be as ye write, and your intention likewise continue hereafter; for, as we will not be ingrate to any, and specially to our ain, who by their good desert merit favour, so will we punish mair rigourously the misbehaviour of them who of bounden duty are most obliged; thus, not doubting of your disposition to be such as ye write, we think your returning hame to be the surest manner to clear you of all bygone imputations, and to enable you to give us proof of your affection in time coming, we commit you to God. From Holyroodhouse, the xiii. of December, 1600.

JAMES R.

Gif ye be able to do me sic service at this time as ye give hope of, you may assure yourself not only of my good will, but of a reward worthy of your service; for as I have ever been to all my good subjects, I will be gladder of your doing well than yourself can be.

The Master would have made no delay in crossing the Border; but he dreaded the Hornings for debt which hung over his head. He desired of the King “that it would please him grant me a Supersedere of my hornings, fra my coming in Scotland for eight or nine months;” and he made the like request to Balmerino, explaining that the King “is addebted to me, by allowance of his Exchequer, in far greater sums than I am at horn for.” Here we may reasonably enquire whether the King’s indebtedness in these “far greater sums,” which he was unable to pay, was not the real cause of the Master’s condemnation on false pretences? James’ mean spirit was quite capable of such a trick (and even worse) to postpone the day of reckoning, or save his purse altogether. And we must call attention to the remarkable coincidence that when the last Earl

of Gowrie returned home from abroad, in the previous summer, he had to get a Supersedere (dated 20th June, 1600) against his creditors, upon the ground of £48,063 4s 8d Scots being due him by the Exchequer on the accounts of his deceased father, as Royal Treasurer: which debt was never paid, but was suddenly wiped off by the murder of the young Earl and his brother in August. The Master of Gray seems to have obtained the Supersedere sought; for he was at Castle Huntly in the month of May, 1601, carrying on his correspondence with the Court, and pressing for employment. Writing to Balmerino, on 8th June (from Castle Huntly), he alludes to a story, which "his Majesty constantly affirmeth, that I received in England £300 sterling, I will speak to you truly, by — ! he is ill informed as yeshall know at meeting. Indeed I might have received further than that sum; but I would stand so clear that indeed I received it not: and I the greater fool, for it is no fault,—the King being neither in war nor ill terms with England: yet that will try as all the rest; for I protest to God I borrowed silver of two hands in England, not yet paid, and brought not in Scotland 40 Scottish li. with me of all kind of money." Hearing, again, that he was blamed for saying something, while abroad, about the Gowrie Conspiracy, he wrote to Balmerino, on 21st June (from Castle Huntly), saying that "as touching Gowrie, they do me extraordinary wrong, for I was in Flanders when I heard it, and I protest to God, when I took leave of the Archduke, I told him freely as the matter had passed on the first sight of the matter; and if I had been so beastly as to have offended in 20 points, yet the service I did him [the King] in that point, both in France, Flanders, and England chiefly, might have excused many of them. But I will drive away all thir vanities like smoke in wind."

It was not so easy, however, to drive the vanities away. Notwithstanding the persistency and vehemence of his protestations, the Master's suit prospered not. He was still kept in the background,—obstacle after

obstacle interposed to prevent his return to that stage on which he had played so prominent a part. Our last quotation from his letters shall be an admirable advice which he gave to the King, respecting his anticipated succession to Queen Elizabeth. "The conquest of the hearts of the subjects of England," wrote the Master, "is able to profit you more than all the princes in the world, for who of them would, may not, and who may, will not. The conquest of the hearts of the subjects of England is easy for you, even in the Queen's ain time, in dealing kindly and naturally with herself, and by good government of your ain subjects and estate of Scotland, to serve as a mirror to them here."

Gray's political career, was closed. Henceforth he lived retired—"far from the madding crowd." The King's accession to the English throne would have opened up a new and wide sphere for the exercise of the Master's undoubted talents in State-craft and for the gratification of his ardent ambition; but the door remained shut against him, and other men, lesser men, were preferred. In a few years, however, there came a change in his fortunes. By the death of his father, in 1605, he became the seventh Lord Gray, and fifth Sheriff of the County of Forfar. He was twice married—first to Elizabeth, daughter of John, Lord Glammis, Chancellor of Scotland, who brought him no children; and, secondly, to Mary Stewart, eldest daughter of Robert, Earl of Orkney, by whom he had two sons, and six daughters. The eldest son was Andrew, Master of Gray. The second, William, got a charter, in 1605, of the lands of Bandirran. The six daughters all obtained husbands. The first, Jean, was married to John, Earl of Wemyss; the second, Agnes, to William, Earl of Menteith and Strathearn; the third Mary, to James, Lord Lindores; the fourth, Elizabeth, to John Leslie of Newton; the fifth, Helen, to David Bruce of Earlsball; and the sixth, Isabel, to Robert Carnegie of Dunnichen. Lord Gray's pecuniary claims against the King were finally adjusted, on 11th July, 1606, by Commissioners appointed for the purpose, who

found the sum of £19,983 13s 9d Scots due by his Majesty, and an order was issued to Lord Scone, the Comptroller, to make payment of the same. Seven years proved the limit of Lord Gray's tenure of his honours, as he died in 1612.

Andrew, his eldest son, now became eighth Lord Gray. Before his father's decease, Andrew had wedded Margaret Ogilvie, Countess of Buchan, daughter of Walter, Lord Deskford, and sister of James, first Earl of Finlater, by whom he had a son, Patrick, and a daughter, Anne. But from time to time previous to his succession, various portions of the family inheritance had been alienated, chiefly to the house of Glamis, with which that of Gray was connected by matrimonial ties. In October, 1545, John, Lord Lyle, was retoured in the lands of Millhill and Burnflat, with half of the mill of Millhill, in the barony of Longforgan. Again, on 4th May, 1583, Mariota Campbell, heir-portioner of her brother, John Campbell of Lundie, was retoured in 18 marks of the lands of Dron, in said barony. Farther, in November, 1596, Patrick, Lord Glamis, afterwards Earl of Kinghorn, was retoured as heir to his father, John, Lord Glamis, in the lands and barony of Longforgan, with the mill, and in the lands and barony of Inchtute, both being united to the barony of Glamis. On 26th April, 1601, Andrew Moncur was retoured heir to his father, Peter Moncur of Knap, in the third part of the lands of Dron, part of the lands of Longforgan. But the Castle Huntly estate and barony were disposed of by Andrew, eighth Lord Gray, shortly after his succession: and the seat of the family then became Fowlis Castle. Patrick, Lord Glamis and first Earl of Kinghorn, was the purchaser—the price paid by him being 40,020 marks Scots. He died about 1615; and on 30th April, 1617, John, second Earl of Kinghorn, was retoured as heir to his father, Earl Patrick, in the lands called the Mains of Huntly, with the Castle and fortalice of Huntly, which formerly belonged to Andrew, Lord Gray; and also in that part of the lands of Longforgan,

called Easter and Wester Cotts, with the moor adjoining, all in the barony of Longforgan, and formerly belonging to the said Andrew, Lord Gray; but the lands of Goatpick; a quarter of the lands of Cattermillie or Bullion; the third part of the lands of Balbunnock or Balbonnie, and Nether Carse, with the lands of Kingoodie or Mylnfield, all parcels of the barony of Longforgan, were specially excluded from this retour.

Andrew, Lord Gray, distinguished himself as a stout soldier and a faithful friend of the throne. He went to France, and in 1624 was appointed Lieutenant of the French *Gens d'armes*—a command which had long been held by Scotsmen. In that command he saw much military service on the Continent. After his return home, he became great in favour with Charles I., who persuaded him to resign the High Sheriffship of Forfarshire for the equivalent of 50,000 marks (or about £3,000 sterling). Lord Gray, probably thinking that he was making a good bargain, resigned the office, and received the King's bond for the sum specified. But the money was never paid, owing to the breaking out of the civil wars,—in which, indeed, Lord Gray came to more losses.*

*Chalmers' *Historical Account of Dunfermline*: 1844, pp. 179, 202; Row's *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society), p. 137; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. part 2d, pp. 266, 267, 275, 348; *Sermons of the Rev. Robert Bruce* (Wodrow Society): *Life of Bruce*, by Wodrow, p. 36; Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 190, 252; *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*; pp. 659—666; Douglas' *Peerage of Scotland*; Myles' *Rambles in Forfarshire*, p. 123.

CASTLE HUNTLY.—Part 4th.

How chances mock,
And changes fill the cup of alteration
With divers liquors !

King Henry IV. Part Second.

LORD GRAY, as previously stated, married the Countess of Buchan; but she died after being the mother of a son and a daughter, Patrick and Anne. Patrick, who had gone to France, to serve in the army, fell at a siege in that country. He was unmarried. His father entered into second nuptials with Dame Catherine Caddel or Calder, by whom he had one daughter. But, about 1639, despairing of male issue to heir his honours, he saw meet to make a settlement of his affairs with a view to the order of his succession after his decease. His eldest daughter, Anne, had wedded, about 1628, her kinsman, William Gray, eldest son and heir of Sir William Gray of Pittendrum, who was descended from Andrew, younger son of the second Lord Gray. Sir William, an eminent Edinburgh merchant, received knighthood from Charles I., and, possessing great wealth, gave his son 232,000 marks on his union with the Mistress of Gray. After this marriage, Lord Gray executed a resignation and settlement of his estate and honours in his daughter's favour; and thereafter a patent was passed, under the Great Seal, to William Gray and the heirs-male of the marriage; whom failing, to his father, Sir William Gray, and his nearest and lawful heirs-male whatsoever, bearing the surname and arms of Gray; and the said William Gray, junior, to bear the style and title of Master of Gray during the said Andrew, Lord Gray's lifetime, as if he had been his son and heir, and after his death the title of Lord Gray with relative dignities and privileges; which patent was dated 8th January, 1639, and was ratified by Parliament in 1641. In addition, Lord Gray made an entail of his estates, upon which passed a Crown Charter to William

Gray and the above destination of heirs, dated 5th March, 1639.

The Civil War forced all men, high and low, to take sides, and Lord Gray proved himself a firm Royalist. After the Battle of Philiphaugh, the Covenanting Parliament ordered him to be banished the kingdom, never to return; but execution of the sentence having been delayed for half-a-year, it was not ultimately carried into effect, and he remained in Scotland. His attachment to the Roman Catholic faith rendered him obnoxious to the General Assembly, and he was excommunicated in 1649. His son-in-law, the Master of Gray, and the Master's father, Sir William, were also zealous supporters of the King, and suffered severely for their loyalty. In the end of 1650, when the national musters were in progress for the contest with Cromwell, the Parliament, sitting at Perth, appointed the Earls of Athole and Tullibardine and the Master of Gray as Colonels of the Perthshire foot making ready for the field: a day or two subsequently, Sir John Smythe was directed by the House to send for the Master of Gray, anent the placing of a garrison in Broughty Castle: and in the Parliament, on 14th January, 1651, it was stated that "the Sheriffdom of Perth puts out by their acts, foot 2,400, to be divided between the Colonels, Earl of Athole, Colonel William Drummond, and the Master of Gray." When the King's army invaded England, the Master was with it, and he fought at Worcester, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner.

Lord Gray was among the Perthshire loyalists who were fined under Cromwell's Ordinance of Grace. The fines, however, were modified or reduced by the English Commissioners, as under:—

	Fines.	Reduced to
Sir Francis Ruthven,.....	£3000	£1000 0 0
Mr Francis Hay of Balhousie,.....	2000	666 13 4
Lord Balvaird,.....	1500	500 0 0
Laurence Oliphant of Bachilton,...	1500	500 0 0
Lord Gray,.....	1000	500 0 0
Lord Rollo,.....	1000	333 6 8
James Mercer of Aldie,.....	1000	333 6 8

About this time,—to avoid the yoke of the Common-

wealth.— Lord Gray betook himself to France, where he still held the lieutenancy of the *Gens d' armes*. This command, however, he was induced by the exiled Charles II., and the Duke of York, to resign in favour of Marshal Schomberg. The Restoration brought back Lord Gray to the Carse of Gowrie; but he was now full of years, and he did not long survive the triumph of the cause which he had so resolutely maintained throughout its darkest days. He died in 1663. He was predeceased by both his daughter, Anne, and her husband. Anne left three sons, Patrick, William, and Charles. Her widowed husband contracted a second marriage with a daughter of Gibson of Durie, but who brought no children. In the month of August, 1660, the Master was slain in a duel which he fought near London with the Earl of Southesk.

The Master's eldest son, Patrick, succeeded his grandfather as ninth Lord Gray. His spouse was Barbara, daughter of Andrew, Lord Balvaird, and sister of David, Lord Stormont, by whom he had an only child, a daughter, Marjory, who, like the first Mistress of Gray, gave her hand to a kinsman, John Gray of Creichie, son of Robert, who was her paternal grandfather's brother, and second son of Sir William Gray of Pittendrum,—by which descent, John Gray was the next heir-male in the patent of honour of 1639-41. But the pecuniary losses which the family of Gray had sustained during the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth now necessitated the sale of some of their possessions. In the year 1666, Broughty Castle and lands were disposed of to Fotheringham of Powrie and Fotheringham : and in 1669, the lands and barony of Fowlis were acquired by Sir William Murray of Ochtertyre, upon whom a baronetcy was conferred in 1673. Thus, the whole domains of the Grays in Perthshire were transferred to other masters,—nothing being retained except the ancient burial vault in the Kirk of Fowlis; and the seat of the family was afterwards the House of Gray, in Forfarshire. A tardy and insufficient compensation was awarded to the

Grays for their hardships in the royal service. In 1686, a gift of £1500 sterling was made by James II., under the Privy Seal, to John, the husband of the Mistress of Gray, in consideration of the losses of his grandfather, Sir William, during the troubles. This gift, dated at Windsor, 21st September, 1686, proceeded upon the preamble that John Gray did great and signal service to Charles II., and that vast sums of money had been extorted from Sir William Gray by a pretended Committee of Estate, in 1645 and 1646, the said Sir William having dutifully assisted the Marquis of Montrose.

But in following the Grays thus far we have lost sight of Castle Huntly, and must, therefore, turn back and trace its history from the time when it was purchased by the family of Glammis.

The Lyons of Glammis are said to draw their descent from one of the Norman followers of the Conqueror. The adventurer's surname, we are told, was *De Leonne*; and his son, Sir Roger de Leonne, came to Scotland with Edgar, son of Malcolm Canmore, and fought against the usurper, Donald Bane,—obtaining lands in reward of his bravery. No charters of the family are extant, however, of an earlier date than 1368, at the close of the reign of David II., when we meet with Sir John Lyon, who afterwards became Lord Glammis, of which lands he obtained a charter in 1372. Glammis was a royal domain, and probably formed part of the possessions of the Pictish kings. Before being conveyed to Lyon by Robert II., it was held by a Thane as royal officer or steward, and was called the “Thanage of Glammis.” Sir John rose to high position at the Scottish Court. He was made Lord High Chamberlain; and Robert II. bestowed his second daughter, the Lady Jean Stewart, upon him in marriage. Several of the succeeding Lords of Glammis are distinguished in the history of Scotland. Patrick, the eleventh Lord, was created Earl of Kinghorn, and acquired the baronies of Longforgan and Castle Huntly. He died in 1617, and was succeeded by his son John, second Earl of King-

horn. At Earl John's death in 1646, his only son and heir, Patrick, was but a child of four years, and, therefore, had no personal share in the subsequent wars, though his family were Royalist in their principles. Charles II. paid, at least, one visit to Castle Huntly, and that not a willing one. He escaped from the Covenanters at Perth, on Friday, 4th October, 1650, and crossed the Tay, but was overtaken in the Glen of Clova, and brought back. He was conducted on Saturday to Castle Huntly, where he stayed over the night, and from thence, on Sunday, he was escorted to Perth. A tradition is told that while General Monk besieged Dundee, his soldiers occupied Castle Huntly as a cavalry station; and converted the Kirk of Fowlis into a stable. During the short-lived insurrection of the Earl of Glencairn against the Commonwealth, a party of the Athole-men, says the *Chronicle of Fife*,—"came to Huntly, the jointure house of Lady Glamis, in February, 1654, and fired a stack or two," but, promptly repenting of the mischief, "staid and extinguished them." The boyish Earl of Kinghorn was not in the Rebellion, nevertheless the Cromwellian Government subjected him to a fine of £1000.

After the restoration,—in 1662,—the Earl was married to the Lady Helen, second daughter of the Earl of Middleton, Royal Commissioner for Scotland; and the nuptials were performed at Holyrood by Archbishop Sharp. Of this union there were two sons and two daughters. On 13th May, 1672, Lord Kinghorn obtained a charter extending the limitation of his Earldom, in failure of direct male issue, to any person or persons whom he might name, and, failing them, to his heirs and assignees whatsoever: also erecting the barony of Castle Huntly in a lordship, to be called the lordship of Lyon: and further erecting the village of Longforgan into a free burgh of barony, with power to constitute bailies, burgesses, clerks, officers, sergeants, &c., and to admit all kinds of trades to a variety of privileges; to have a weekly market within the burgh, and to have two free yearly fairs—one on the first Tuesday of July,

and the other on the first Tuesday of October, each to last three days, and the duties and customs of which to be levied by and applied to the sole use of the proprietor. Five years afterwards—on 1st July, 1677,—Lord and his heirs-male, or heirs whatsoever, should, in all Kinghorn obtained another charter, providing that he future ages, be styled Earls of Strathmore and Kinghorn, Viscounts Lyon, and Barons Glammis, Tannadycce, Sidlaw, and Strathdichtie.

On the erection of the lordship of Lyon by the charter of 1672, Castle Huntly changed its name to *Castle Lyon*. The Earl of Strathmore, a nobleman who shone as a patron of the arts, made considerable alterations on the old baronial edifice, as well as on his chief seat, the Castle of Glammis. In fact, he seems to have devoted the best years of his life to the improving of his domains. He was a great planter and a lover of gardening—a true disciple of John Evelyn, whose fine genius then directed the taste of the age. The Earl was indefatigable in his pursuits. He repaired and built additions to his Castles: he clothed the nakedness of the land with plantations: he formed walks and avenues; and the gardens which he laid out were adorned with statues and other adornments. Castle Lyon, as it was now called, was enlarged and beautified. “The most ancient part of this Castle,” says the Old Statistical writer, “had been an oblong square, built upon the most projecting part of the rock, in such fashion that the first set of apartments, consisting of three vaults, all arched with strong masonry, had one end solid rock and the other a wall of 14 feet thick, with a window to each, about 6 inches wide and 4 feet high. In the middle vault there had been a well.” All the Earl’s alterations and additions bore his initials and the date 1667. He planted a great number of trees, “and the whole grounds were dressed up in all the grandeur of summer-houses, statues, avenues, gates ornamented with various orders of architecture, &c., agreeable to the taste of the times.” One of his projects, it is said, was a stately avenues

betwixt Castle Lyon and Glamis, and a mile of it was formed and planted at the time of his demise. The Earl spent a long, active, and useful life. He was a Privy Councillor and a Lord of the Treasury ; and in 1686 he became an extraordinary Senator of the College of Justice, which dignity he retained till the Revolution. His death took place in 1695, when he was in his 53d year. The following notices of his career, from the pen of the late Dr John Stuart, which appear in one of the Reports of the Manuscripts Commission, will doubtless be perused with interest :—

Patrick, third Earl of Kinghorne, and first Earl of Strathmore, succeeded to his father in 1646, when he was only four years old.

He is chiefly remarkable for his wonderful spirit of improvement and his refined taste. The Castle of Glamis, which is one of the richest examples of Scottish architecture left to us, owes to him all its characteristic features and its general tone.

In a "Book of Record" which he kept he has recorded the condition of the buildings both at Glamis and Castle Lyon at the time of his succession, and the additions and alterations which he made.

He has also preserved the contracts which he entered into with the artists and tradesmen by whom his designs were carried out. These included a contract with F. de Wit for paintings to be executed in the Earl's chapel and house of Glamis; and we find that he also employed a Dutch carver, Jan Van Sant Voort. His ideas of policy and landscape gardening around the Castle of Glamis, including gardens, planting, and statuary are all detailed, and there are numerous inventories of furniture, plate, pictures, dresses, and jewels. partly of Earl Patrick's time, and partly of an earlier period.

In his "Book of Record" are many particulars of his personal history, illustrative of the manners of the period.

Shortly before his death, which occurred in 1695, he granted a deed setting forth the many difficulties which had beset his progress through life, and withal the many blessings for which he had to be thankful; in consideration whereof he resolved to build four "lodges" near the Kirktooun of Glamis for the use of four aged men of his own surname, if they could be found; and, failing them, to such decayed tenants as had been reduced to want without their own fault, to each of whom he mortified yearly 4 bolls of oatmeal and 25 marks Scots money, with a "new white-coloured wide cloth coat, lined with blue serge, once every three years." The four men were to frequent the Parish Church, and "wait always at the church-door

when we go there, and at their own doors whenever we shall have occasion to pass by, if they be not employed abroad. . . . And that they shall be holden (if sickness and infirmity do not hinder) to repair every day, once, (at the twelfth hour of the day) to our burial-place (whereof a key shall be given to each in common), and a form of prayer to be read by them by turns, by each of them as can read, and if they cannot read, that they learn the same by heart."

The Earl was a great Royalist, and continued an attached adherent to the House of Stuart till the measures of James II. in favour of the Roman Catholic system, which he disliked, alienated him.

The Earl, by his marriage with Lady Helen Middleton, left two sons, John and Patrick, and two daughters—Grizel, who became Countess of Airly; and Elizabeth, who was wedded in succession to the Earl of Aboyne and Lord Kinnaird.

John succeeded as second Earl of Strathmore. He evinced much administrative talent, and was a Privy Councillor under Queen Anne. He was united to Lady Elizabeth Stanhope, daughter of Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield, by whom he had six sons,—Patrick, Philip, John, Charles, James, and Thomas,—and two daughters, Helen and Mary. But he saw his two eldest sons laid in their graves,—Patrick dying in his seventeenth year, and Philip in his nineteenth year, both unmarried. A singular destiny attended his succession, and was predicted, so tradition tells, by an old man, a tenant on the estate, who met Lord Strathmore one day in company with his four surviving sons. "Are not these four pretty boys?" said his Lordship, with all a father's pride. "Yes," answered the hoary sage, "they are pretty boys, and they will all live to be Earls, my Lord, all Earls of Strathmore." The Earl was startled. "I would be sorry," he said, "if I were sure that such will be the case." The old man persisted that it would be so, and added—"But God help the poor when Thomas comes to be Earl!" The prediction was fulfilled to the letter,—the four pretty boys following each other in the Strathmore earldom, and Thomas' time being marked by a dire famine in the land; but it seems not to have been revealed to the aged seer that

two of the boys were to meet untimely and violent death—one to die in the strife of Sheriffmuir, and the other to be accidentally stabbed by a friend on the High Street of Forfar. Earl John died in 1712, and his third son, John, inherited his lands and honours.

The new Earl was a zealous Jacobite, and so was his uncle, Mr Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse, second son of Earl Patrick. At the breaking out of Mar's Rebellion, Lord Strathmore was only about eighteen, but he took arms for King James at once. He and his following, a gallant Lowland regiment raised in Angus, speedily marched to reinforce the insurgent garrison of Perth, after the capture of that city in September, 1715. Accompanying the expedition of Brigadier Macintosh to the south, the Earl and a portion of the troops, Highland and Lowland, under his command, while crossing the Firth of Forth, were compelled by the ships of war to make for the Isle of May, where they landed. In this position Strathmore acquitted himself with great spirit and ability. The hostile vessels blockaded the island; but, although no descent was attempted, the young Earl prepared for the worst, by throwing up entrenchments and posting his men to the best advantage in case of attack. His difficulties were augmented by fierce quarrels amongst his soldiers; but with admirable suavity and resolution he stilled the disturbance, and restored unanimity: and, skilfully embracing an opportunity, he carried his whole detachment safely back to the coast of Fife. At the Battle of Sheriffmuir, he fought bravely for the Chevalier, but was slain. On the day after the battle, while Argyle's soldiery were searching the field, the Earl's body was found among the snow, watched over by a faithful servant, who when asked whose corpse it was that lay at his feet, answered—"He was a man yesterday."

Strathmore's fall was deeply lamented by his own party, as he was a youth of excellent promise. An elegy to his memory was composed by a Jacobite poet of the day, a man of good learning—William Meston, who, in 1714, was installed as Professor of Philosophy

in Marischal College, Aberdeen, which appointment he was foolish enough to throw away by joining the Rebellion. After all was lost, Meston wandered as a fugitive upon the hills for a season, and then, finding himself unnoticed by Government, sought to support himself by teaching, in which vocation he laboured for a short time in the town of Perth, and was subsequently engaged as preceptor to the family of Oliphant of Gask. Meston died at Aberdeen in 1745. Most of his poems — all strongly imbued with Jacobitism — were published separately during his life, and were keenly relished in appropriate circles. His principal productions are :—“The Knight of the Kirk; or, The Ecclesiastical Adventures of Sir John Presbyter;” “Old Mother Grim’s Tales :” and “Mob *contra* Mob; or, The Rabblers Rabbled :” the first and last being in Hudibrastic verse, and occasionally enlivened with scintillations of something approaching to Butler’s humour. His poems were published collectively at Edinburgh, in 1767, and the volume is now very rare, and much sought after by the curious. Of the elegy “On the Lamented Death of the Earl of Strathmore” we shall select a few stanzas :—

With general sadness Albion mourns
Her Lord Strathmore’s untimely fate;
Grief and resentment swell by turns,
While we the tragic tale relate.

All join to weep his vanish’d charms;
Even in his foes regret appears;
Defeated virtue rage disarms,
And softens envy into tears.

Such sweetness did his mind adorn,
Such wisdom guide his lovely wit,
As shewed the youth for virtue born,
With so much ease he practis’d it,

The wond’ring Muse his steps attends,
And sees on Maia’s rocky shore,
With adverse fate how he contends,
Superior to the ills he bore.

For his loved Prince and country’s cause
He scorns to quit the bloody field;
But many flee whom danger awes,
And he, o’erpower’d, is forced to yield.

Vain are complaints : Heaven that rules all,
 In vengeance to the guilty land,
 Had now decreed that he should fall,
 And fall by an inglorious hand.

But tho', upon the fatal plain,
 His body cold and lifeless lie,
 The etherial part does still remain,
 And seeks, unstain'd, its native sky.

Albion, who once of such a son
 Could'st so deserv'dly make thy boast,
 Consider, now that he is gone,
 What to his memory thou ow'st.

Thy gratitude his actions claim,
 His fate does thy compassion crave,
 Still must Strathmore remain a name
 Dear to the loyal and the brave.

In him the force of virtue see,
 Although successful, sure of fame;
 For future ages will agree
 To mourn his fate and bless his name.

There was neither widow nor child of his to mourn the youthful hero's fate when the evil tidings came to Castle Lyon. The Earl was unmarried : and his fall in battle prevented his being attainted with treason, whereby his estates would have been forfeited. His immediate younger brother, Charles,—the second of "the four pretty boys,"—succeeded as fourth Earl of Strathmore.*

* Douglas' *Peerage of Scotland*; Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, vol. iv., pp. 114, 211, 218, 242; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. vi., part 2d, p. 846; Stuart's *Historical Sketches of the Church and Parish of Fowlis-Easter*; Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xix. (Parish of Longforgan); Myles' *Rambles in Forfarshire*; *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 185; Meston's *Poetical Works* : 1767, p. 158.

CASTLE HUNTLY.—Part 5th.

With that which he hath drunk to-night already,
He'll be as full of quarrel and offence
As my young mistress' dog.

Othello.

CHARLES, fourth Earl of Strathmore was not implicated in the Rebellion; but both his family seats of Glammis Castle and Castle Lyon were visited by the Pretender. On the way from Peterhead to the camp at Perth, the Chevalier halted at Glammis, on 4th January, 1716, and characterised the baronial edifice as "the finest chateau he had ever seen in any country." More than eighty beds were made in the Castle for him and his retinue. He continued his progress next day; and while advancing along the Carse of Gowrie, from Dundee, on Saturday, 7th January, he honoured Castle Lyon by staying to dine within its walls, and in the evening passed on to Fingask. Castle Lyon, too, saw the retreat of the Chevalier and his forces, and their pursuit by the army of Argyle.

Earl Charles was not disturbed in his rights. He married, in the year 1725, says Sir Bernard Burke, "one of the most beautiful women in Scotland, who was also one of the most highly born, and nobly allied, the Lady Susanna Cochrane, second daughter of John, fourth Earl of Dundonald. The paternal ancestry of this young lady was among the most ancient in the land, and the alliances which had been formed from generation to generation, added fresh lustre to her old family tree." The union was a happy one, but fated to be short, and to be broken by a miserable deed of violence.

A funeral took place in the county town of Forfar, on Thursday, the 9th May, 1728. It was that of a young lady, daughter of Patrick Carnegie of Lours, who was a near relative of James Carnegie of Finhaven. Amongst the mourners who attended it were the Earl

of Strathmore; Thomas Lyon, his youngest brother; David, Lord Rosehill; James Carnegie of Finhaven; and John Lyon of Bridgeton, a kinsman of Strathmore, being descended from Frederick, third son of the first Earl of Kinghorn, who obtained a charter of the lands of Brighton or Bridgeton in 1622. Before the interment, the above parties dined with the Laird of Lours, and, according to the fashion of the time on such an occasion, the wine circulated freely at table. After the last rites were paid at the grave, the company dispersed, and Strathmore, with the four others already named, and one or two more gentlemen, repaired to a tavern kept by the Town-Clerk of Forfar, whose name was Dickson—"Clerk Dickson," as he was familiarly called in the burgh. They sat down, and soon had the worthy Clerk's claret and brandy flowing. That age, if it was anything, was convivial, and everybody thought light of bacchanalian excess; for, in fact, a gentleman enjoyed repute in proportion to how many bottles he could carry under his belt. The mourners, in their sable weeds, sat and drank plentifully, till Carnegie of Finhaven, the eldest of the party, and the father of a family of grown-up daughters, was considerably overcome by the frequency of his libations. In that condition he became a butt for the coarse and snarling jokes and jeers of the Laird of Bridgeton, who seemed to find great delight in turning him and his private affairs into ridicule. Perhaps one cause of this conduct was that Carnegie was a Hanoverian, while the rest were rank Jacobites; but, at any rate, political difference of opinion was no excuse for ungentlemanly rudeness. Had Finhaven been soberer, he would probably have resented this treatment; but as it was, he apparently took it all in good part—or rather, his obfuscation prevented his understanding it. Thus, the time passed, unpleasantly. Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening,—before the company broke up,—the Earl of Strathmore took his leave, in order that he might call upon his aunt-in-law, Margaret Carnegie, sister of Finhaven, and widow

of the Earl's uncle, Mr Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse, who fought at Sheriffmuir, on the Pretender's side, and, surviving the battle, was subsequently pardoned under the Act of Grace. This lady resided in the High Street of Forfar. Strathmore had not been long gone, when his companions, Rosehill, Finhaven, Bridgeton, and Thomas Lyon, concluded their symposium in the tavern, and joined him at his aunt's house. Finhaven was now still more intoxicated, and Bridgeton, also well flushed with liquor, resumed his coarse banter in the presence of his bemused victim's sister. He asked Finhaven if he had money enough about him to lend to a lord in the company: shook him by the breast, and by the wrist, and dashed down his hand upon the table repeatedly, as if to arouse his attention, and force him to speak: jeered him because he had no son, and because he was in debt; and advised him to settle his estate this way or that way: wanted to know whether Finhaven would give him the choice of one of his daughters, or whether the choice would be given to Lord Rosehill. To this persistent and varied insolence, Carnegie seems to have made little or no response, submitting to it with maudlin indifference.

Lady Auchterhouse, desirous of turning the offensive talk, filled a glass of brandy, which she presented to Bridgeton; but he declined it, bidding her give it to her brother. "No, no," she said, "he doesn't want it: he has had enough already." Irritated at this, Bridgeton clutched her wrist and squeezed it hard, and swore that it would not be difficult to break the bone if she still refused to give Finhaven the glass! He then let go her arm, and proceeded once more to badger his former butt, asking him, "Will you give one of your daughters to Lord Rosehill? If I was a young man," added he, "and if you refused me one of your daughters, I would maul you!"—and with that he shook his clenched hand over Carnegie's head. Lord Strathmore, evidently sick of such a scene, now brought his visit to a close, and, departing with his brother and Rosehill, sauntered leisurely along the

High Street before taking horse to ride home. It was nine o'clock, and the dusk of the evening had gathered. Finhaven and Bridgeton, in a minute or two, came out to the door, where James Barrie, the former's servant, was holding his master's horses, and the Earl's man, William Macglish, was also waiting. Bridgeton was still speaking loud and uncivilly to his companion—"Will you give your daughter to Lord Rosehill?" was again asked. "No," answered Carnegie. "Will you go then and drink a bottle of wine, and toast the King's health?" demanded Bridgeton. The King was the Pretender. Finhaven a second time replied in the negative, upon which Lyon, exclaiming—"Then, confound you and your King George."—gave the staggering laird a violent push, which upset him in "the gutter"—the channel or kennel,—a wide ditch full of muddy water. "Go! and lie there," cried Bridgeton, "until the man who is in greatest favour with you pick you up!" And he walked away hastily after Strathmore. Finhaven was picked up by the footman, Macglish, before his own servant, Barrie, could reach him; and as soon as he got to his feet, he ejaculated—"This cannot be suffered!" and drew his rapier. He was woefully bemired, having fallen upon his back, and been almost covered by the dirty current. "His face," as an observer stated, "was almost as black as his black coat," and as he staggered along the street in pursuit of his assailant, "the mire ran out of his top-boots." Before Bridgeton overtook the others, he stopped and looked back, folding his arms and laughing heartily at the ridiculous figure of the poor bedraggled laird, who was making towards him sword in hand, and whose wrath was now fully roused. Bridgeton, however, being himself unarmed, and not caring to await his pursuer's approach, which might prove dangerous, hurried on to the Strathmore party, and, bringing them to an immediate halt, laid hands on the Earl's sword, and endeavoured to pull it from the scabbard. Failing in this, and seeing Carnegie close upon him, and preparing to deal a lunge with his rapier, he ran

behind the Earl, who had now turned about, facing the incensed laird. Bridgeton grinned over the Earl's shoulder : and Finhaven, blind with drink and fury, delivered a desperate thrust ; but it was Strathmore who received it : the steel ran into his body, and pierced him through, the point protruding at his back ! His brother drew his sword, and attacking Carnegie, who had now recovered his weapon, speedily disarmed him by striking the rapier out of his grasp, and sending it whirling through the air to a distance. The Earl sank down on the street, and Finhaven turned and ran back to his sister's residence, where he was admitted, and the door was securely bolted after him.

The tragedy—which had been the work of a confused and darkling moment—raised the wildest alarm and commotion. The Earl of Strathmore was Hereditary Constable of Forfar, and well known and very popular in the burgh. The inhabitants rushed out of their houses, and collected in a clamorous multitude around the spot where the wounded youth lay. He was gently lifted and conveyed to Clerk Dickson's tavern, where he had been regaling himself so shortly before. Thomas Lyon, Bridgeton, and others, having seen him carefully disposed of in the house, determined to go and seize the assassin, who, it was known, had taken shelter with his sister ; and one of the gentlemen called out for a fore-hammer to break open the door, if necessary. A great crowd accordingly congregated in front of Lady Auchterhouse's mansion, denouncing the murderer, and demanding that he should be given up to justice, otherwise they would pull down the tenement about the ears of all within ; but they were withheld from using violence by the opportune appearance of David Cauty, merchant, one of the Bailies of the town, who, seeing Thomas Lyon and Bridgeton, at the door, with drawn swords, commanded them to deliver up their arms, which they having done, he summoned the inmates of the house, in name of the law, to open the door. The summons was obeyed, and the Bailie entered with a mob at his back. Lady Auchterhouse, in a state of extreme distress, denied

that her brother was under her roof; but her word was disregarded, and, the whole domicile being narrowly searched, he was discovered hidden in the "Peat-house,"—lying upon peats over which some lint was spread. The Bailie arrested him for the crime. Finhaven submitted quietly, but asked—"How is the Earl?" To which he was answered—"He is very bad, as I am informed." The active Magistrate, having ordered the noisy crowd to disperse to their homes, brought out his prisoner and committed him to the Tol-booth.

It is stated that when Finhaven entered the jail, "he fell a-crying to a great extremity, as if he had been distracted, and said, it was the greatest misfortune that could happen him, and said that he deserved to be hanged for wounding such a worthy Earl." Later in the night he was visited by the Rev. James Maxwell, minister of the Gospel at Forfar, who found him "in great disorder, and under the impressions of drunkenness, his clothes being all covered with mire, and his face besmeared with dirt." The unhappy man seemed to have forgotten all about what had happened on the street, and looked startled when told what he had done. When the minister mentioned that he had heard the wounded Earl "pray to God to forgive him," Finhaven "fell into the greatest disorder, tossing himself backwards and forwards upon a table, and hanging his head downwards, cried—'Have I wounded the Earl of Strathmore?—a person for whom I had great kindness, and against whom I had no design.'" No doubt he was sincere in this; for he had been at no variance with the Earl, and the fatal thrust was aimed not at him, but at Bridgeton, whose disgraceful rudeness had produced the whole catastrophe. Mr Maxwell before leaving the jail, helped the prisoner to divest himself of his soiled clothes, "and sent for a coat and some linens of his own to put on, at least the coat was his own, which he helped to put on him, and to wash and clean his face."

The Earl received the wound at nine o'clock on Thurs-

day evening: the injury was mortal; and he died on the following Saturday. In due time, Finhaven was indicted, for "wilful and premeditate murder and homicide," at the instance of Susanna, Countess of Strathmore, and Mr James Lyon, immediate younger brother and heir of the deceased Earl, and also at the instance of Duncan Forbes, Esq., His Majesty's Advocate. The trial came on before the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh. On the 15th July, 1728, Finhaven was placed at the bar to plead to the indictment. He appeared in great depression of spirits, and when asked, in the ordinary way, what he had to say to the charge, addressed the Court thus:—

My Lords, I find myself accused by this indictment of maliciously murdering the Earl of Strathmore. But as to any ill-will, malice, or design to hurt the Earl, God is my witness, I had none. On the contrary, I had all the due regard, respect, and kindness for his Lordship, that I ever had for any man. I had the misfortune that day to be mortally drunk, for which I beg God's pardon, so that, as I must answer at God's great tribunal, I do not remember what happened, after I got the affront your Lordships will hear of from my lawyers. One thing I am sure of, if it shall appear that I was the unlucky person who wounded the Earl, I protest before God, I would much rather that a sword had been sheathed in my bowels. And further, I declare, that I do not so much as remember that I saw the Earl after I came out of the kennel, and even not so much as the drawing of my sword; and, therefore, I cannot acknowledge the libel as it is libelled.

The panel was defended by eminent counsel, chief of whom was Mr Robert Dundas of Arniston: and a lengthy argumentation followed upon the conclusion of the libel,—the defence contending that it inferred only an arbitrary punishment, while the prosecution maintained that it inferred the pains of death. No decision was pronounced that day. Both parties were ordered to lodge written *Informations*, or full statements of pleas; which having been done, the Court found the libel relevant to infer the pains of law, but allowed the accused to prove all facts and circumstances he could, for taking off the aggravated circumstances of forethought and premeditation. After one or two adjournments, the trial was held on 2d August, when evidence

was adduced on both sides. Bridgeton, who should have been a principal witness, did not venture to shew his face. A lame attempt was made to prove premeditation; but ample testimony was borne as to the provocation and affront which the panel had received. Notwithstanding, however, all that could be sworn to in his favour, Finhaven was in great danger; for, at the best, his case only amounted to this, that, under provocation, while intending to stab one person, he had killed another. The argument of the prosecution aimed at cutting every inch of ground from beneath his feet: it being concluded, on the authority of the civil law, that if the intention be murder, it makes not the least difference that another person than he at whom it was directed shall receive the mortal blow; and, farther, "that neither the drunkenness of the panel, nor provocation given him, nor the suddeny upon which the fact was committed, can afford a defence to the panel to exculpate the slaughter, or lessen the ordinary punishment." The Judges, moreover, were against Finhaven and his pleas—perchance on the principle which was enunciated by a later ornament of the bench, the eccentric Lord Hermand, who, when trying a somewhat similar case, opened his mind to his judicial brethren in the following terms:—"We are told that there was no malice, and that the prisoner must have been in liquor. In liquor! Why, he was drunk! And yet he murdered the very man who had been drinking with him! They had been carousing the whole night; and yet he stabbed him; after drinking a whole bottle of rum with him! My Laards, if he will do this when he's drunk, what will he not do when he's sober?" But Arniston made a masterly address to the Jury, impressing upon them that they were judges of law as well as of fact—a principle which was never afterwards lost sight of in Scottish criminal jurisprudence. His eloquence told with powerful effect,—the Jury, by a majority of twelve to three, bringing in a verdict of "Not guilty": and the prisoner was acquitted.

The deceased Earl had no children by Countess Susanna : and his next brother, James, succeeded him. Earl James married Jane, daughter of Charles Oliphant, Esq. of Langton, but died without issue on 14th January, 1735. The succession now fell to the last of "the four pretty boys," Thomas, who had been present at the slaughter on the High Street of Forfar. When he became Earl, in 1735, he was Member of Parliament for Forfarshire, having been chosen at the General Election in the previous year. He married Jane, daughter and heiress of James Nicholson, Esq. of West Rainton, county Durham, by whom he had three sons and four daughters. It will be remembered that the old man who predicted the succession of the four brothers, added—"But God help the poor when Thomas comes to be Earl!" Thomas was now Earl, and it remained to be seen why the poor should be so much the objects of commiseration when the fourth pretty boy had come to the Earldom. This was shewn in 1740. A severe frost began on the 26th of December, 1739, and continued without intermission over the following month of January, binding up all the rivers, and stopping all the water mills. It was equally bitter in England, and a fair was held on the bosom of the Thames. The masses of the people were subjected to great suffering, food and fuel being scarce and dear; Moreover, the spring and summer were unpropitious, and a failure of the crops became general in Scotland. Famine raised bread riots, and the starving mob of Edinburgh poured down to Leith and broke into granaries, and had to be dispersed by the military. Of a surety, abundant reason there was to pity the poor during that portion of Earl Thomas' time. The Earl, notwithstanding the Jacobite antecedents of his family, was wise enough to refrain from espousing the same side in 1745. When the Heritable Jurisdictions were abolished, in 1748, he obtained £600 as the equivalent for his hereditary office of Constable of Forfar. He died on 8th February, 1753, and was succeeded by his eldest son, John.

But we must return to the widowed and childless Countess of the Earl who was stabbed at Forfar. At his death she was left possessed of ample wealth in her own right : and for the next seventeen years she dwelt at Castle Lyon, which was her jointure house. Time did not soon lighten the great sorrow which had overshadowed her, like a wintry cloud, in the brief summer of her wedded happiness. Her unrivalled charms brought many suitors, rich and noble, for her hand; but she rejected them all, as though her mind were fully made up against second nuptials. At length, in 1745, when she was in her thirty-sixth year, and still beautiful and fascinating, she made a strange mesalliance to the astonishment of the world and the indignation of her kindred. The object of her choice was far beneath her in rank and birth. He has been described as her factor, and as holding the honorary appointment of Groom to the Chevalier de St George; but he had originally filled a humble station in her own household. His name was George Forbes, and he was young and good-looking. "One day," says Sir Bernard Burke, "she summoned Forbes into her presence, and plainly told him that she was, and long had been, desperately in love with him; that her fortune was very large, her charms not yet quite faded, and that if he only liked her she would immediately marry him ! The man at first was frightened, and thought she was gone crazy, and seems to have argued the point with his mistress more like a philosopher than a groom. He allowed that beauty, rank, and wealth were temptations which he could not merit, but begged to remind her that unequal marriages were seldom happy, that he could not rise to nobility, and that it would be painful for her to sink down to his condition. However, she persisted, telling him that she looked to the beauty of his face and form, and the warmth of his heart, and not to his pedigree." Of course, with such a fortune pressed upon his acceptance, the lucky swain cast aside all scruple, and consented to marry his lady. The match was accordingly arranged, and the ceremony took place

at Castle Lyon, on 2d April, 1745. The wedded pair left Scotland for the Continent; but, as might have been anticipated, their incompatibility was speedily developed. The Countess bore a daughter, and afterwards lived apart from her husband, and died at Paris, a Roman Catholic, on 24th June, 1754. Such is the sad story of the beautiful Countess.

John, seventh Earl of Strathmore, was a boy of sixteen when he inherited the ancestral honours. After completing his education, he went the tour of the Continent. In his twenty-ninth year he won the hand of the wealthiest heiress in England. Miss Mary Eleanor Bowes was the only child of George Bowes of Streatham Castle and Gibside, County of Durham, and M.P. for that shire, who was descended from an ancient family in the north of England. Mr Bowes died in 1760, leaving his daughter, Mary, then only eleven years of age, with a fortune of £1,040,000, and the succession, after her uncle, to great estates. The young lady was eighteen, when, on 25th February, 1766, she became Countess of Strathmore. Her noble husband thereupon obtained an Act of Parliament authorizing him to use the surname of Bowes—that is, the Strathmore surname became thenceforth Lyon-Bowes. The Earl was thrice elected one of the Scottish Representative Peers. Eventually his health gave way, and in the spring of 1776, as advised by his physicians, he embarked for a more genial climate; but while on the voyage to Lisbon, he died atsea on 7th March. He was survived by the Countess, and a family of three sons and two daughters. John the eldest son, born in 1769, was now eighth Earl: and early in his time the Strathmore connection with Castle Lyon ceased.*

* Sir Bernard Burke's *Family Romance*, p. 155; Hargrave's *Collection of State Trials* (folio), vol. ix, pp 26—66; Arnot's *Collection of Celebrated Criminal Trials in Scotland*, pp. 178—191; Douglas' *Peerage of Scotland*.

CASTLE HUNTLY. —Part 6th.

Sir William. I never from these fields again will stray :
Masons and wrights shall soon my house repair,
And busy gardeners shall new planting rear :
My father's hearty table you soon shall see
Restored, and my best friends rejoice with me.

Symon. That's the best news I heard this twenty year ;
New day breaks up, rough times begin to clear.

The Gentle Shepherd.

AS we now approach the time when Castle Lyon passed out of the possession of the Strathmore line, it becomes necessary, for the proper elucidation of our narrative, that we return to the genealogy of the family of Gray.

We have seen that Patrick, ninth Lord Gray, who married the daughter of Lord Balvaird, had an only child, Marjory, who was united to her kinsman, John Gray of Creichie, the heir-male to the title and estates under the patent in favour of William Gray of Pittendrum. Marjory had three sons and three daughters. Lord Patrick died in 1711. Four years previous, in virtue of a new resignation which he made of his lands and honours, a patent was issued, under the Great Seal, on 20th February, 1707, to and in favour of the said John Gray of Creichie, with all the dignities, privileges, titles of honour, and precedency, belonging to the Lords Gray, during all the days of his life, and after his decease, to John, his eldest son of the marriage with Marjory, his spouse, and to the heirs-male of the said John; whom failing, to the second son by the said Marjory, and his heirs-male; whom failing, to the third son and his heirs-male; whom failing, to the eldest heir-female of the said marriage without division,—heirs-female being now introduced into the succession.

By this patent, John Gray was created Lord Gray, in the lifetime of his father-in-law, and as such took the oaths and his seat in Parliament, His lady pre-

deceased her father; but her husband, who ranked as tenth Lord Gray, survived till 1724, when he was succeeded by his eldest son, John, as eleventh Lord, who married Helen, daughter of Alexander, fifth Lord Blantyre, and had two sons, John and Charles, and one daughter, Anne. He died on 15th December, 1738, and was succeeded by his eldest son, John, twelfth Lord Gray, who was born on 11th April, 1716. This twelfth Lord had the fortune to renew the connection of his house with Perthshire, which had been broken off by the sale of the Fowlis estate to Sir William Murray of Ochertyre, about the year 1669. Lord Gray was distinguished as a nobleman of highly-refined tastes, a patron of literature, art, and science, and a zealous and successful promoter of agricultural and rural improvement. He greatly enhanced the amenities of his domains by judicious planting and cultivation. One of his chief undertakings was the erection of a new Mansion-House of Gray, situated on a sloping upland, with an ample lawn, and surrounded with trees. The country benefited by his example. It is stated that he "was the first to introduce the potato-planting on a large scale as marketable produce; the first field-grown potatoes sold in Dundee being the production of the farm of Gray." In the month of October, 1741, his Lordship was married to Miss Margaret Blair, heiress of Kinfauns, by which match, the Gray family resumed that place among the nobility of Perthshire, which had been lost since the middle of the seventeenth century. Of this marriage came four sons and seven daughters. The eldest son, Andrew, died before his father, without issue; but the three others—Charles, William, and Francis—succeeded each other in the Lordship. One of their sisters, Anne, was destined to become lady of *Castle Huntly*, the ancient seat of her forefathers.

Another race now enter upon the scene. Mr George Paterson, who was born in 1734, and began life as a member of the medical faculty, went to India as official Secretary to Sir Robert Harland, and displayed not

only marked skill as a physician, but much diplomatic talent while employed in important negotiations at the native Court of Arcot. During his residence in the East, Mr Paterson amassed a large fortune, and, returning to Scotland, married, on 30th November, 1776, Anne, daughter of John, twelfth Lord Gray. In the year following this marriage—(1777)—the Earl of Strathmore being desirous of disposing of his Castle Lyon estate, Mr Paterson became its purchaser at the price of £40,000 sterling, being as many pounds sterling as Lord Strathmore's ancestor had paid marks Scots for it in 1615,—he having paid 40,020 marks, or about £2222 sterling: the increase shewing the great rise which had taken place in the price of land in Scotland at the distance of a century and a-half. The Old Statistical writer gives some curious and interesting facts as to the rental of the estate from 1667. At that time more than three-fourths of the rental were paid in kind:—Wheat, 276 bolls; barley, 225; oats, 62; meal, 230; pease, 36—total, 829 bolls, at £5 Scots per boll, valued at £345 8s 4d sterling, with money rent £100, making together an annual rent of £445 8s 4d sterling. In 1719, the quantity of victual paid as rent was 631 bolls, which, valued at 10s 5d per boll, would give £547 9s 6½d, and the money rent was £205 0s 11½d, making together £752 10s 6d sterling. But taking the victual at the same price as in 1667, it would yield £262 18s 4d, and money rent, £205 0s 11d—total, £467 19s 3d sterling; so that in this view there is not much difference in the amount of the rent of the two periods. In 1750, the whole rent was 10,000 marks Scots, or £555 11s 1½d sterling, and being given as a jointure to the widowed Countess, she went abroad, and let the lands at £420. In 1777, when the estate was sold to Mr Paterson, the rent, calculating the wheat at 20s and the other victual at 12s per boll, amounted to £1412 2s 6d; but value the victual in 1667 at the same rates, and the rent would have been £707 16s. At the close of last century the yearly rent was more than the whole value of the fee-simple, when it was sold to Lord Strathmore, in 1615.

On completing the purchase, in 1777, Mr Paterson, in appropriate compliment to the noble family of his wife, restored to the castle its original name of *Castle Huntly*, by which it had been known for nearly two hundred years. Mr Paterson, like his father-in-law, was a great improver, and during a long and active life proved himself a generous and energetic country gentleman, and the friend of all on his estate. After the death of Patrick, first Earl of Strathmore, Castle Lyon had been gradually neglected, so that ultimately much decay and dilapidation had taken place, and much required to be done to adapt the building and its surroundings to the altered circumstances of modern times. Well fitted was the new laird to follow in the footsteps of Earl Patrick. "Nothing seems to have been done to this place since Earl Patrick's time until the present proprietor purchased the place in 1777," says the Old Statistical writer. "The whole has now assumed a new face. The grounds are laid out as much in the modern taste as their situation will admit; many trees are taken down but many more have been planted, and great numbers of fine old horse-chesnuts, planes, limes, ash, &c., in straight avenues, still remain, so as to preserve the unity of style between the place and the castle. The castle also, although completely modernised within, has assumed even a more castellated appearance outwardly than formerly. The wings, embattled walls, round tower, and corner turrets, have been given it by the present proprietor." The same writer states that in the year 1743 a survey was taken of the growing timber on the estate, when it was found that there were 8557 trees of all sorts, valued at £2813 5s 2d, amongst which were a great number of sweet-chesnut trees, which were sold some time afterwards. By the end of the century the number of trees was much greater; but no valuation was then taken. Dr Robertson, minister of Callander, in his *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Perth*, speaks with the highest praise of the arboricultural wealth of Castle Huntly, about 1810. "If any person

continues to give credit to Dr Johnson's illiberal account of Scots trees, which has been founded in ignorance, dictated by prejudice, and written with gall," he says, "let him take a view of Castle Huntly, and say, if he can, that there are no trees in Scotland. At this place alone there are ashes, whose trunk is from 27 to 19 feet in circumference; elms, 11; horse-chesnuts, 10; poplars, 10; planes, 9; firs, 13 to 9; and some at the root of the trunk, 19; yews, 6; thorns, 6; limes, between 7 and 8. The diameter of the top of one tree is 66 feet. Inferior planes have been sold at between £13 and £14 each; and firs have been cut which contained 90 feet of wood below the boughs."

The unceasing enterprise of Mr Paterson carried through various other improvements. In 1788, he set up the first thrashing-mill in that part of the country. He also devoted much attention to the wants of the humbler classes around him, and took great interest in the spread of education amongst them. Speaking of Longforgan Parish-School, the Old Statistical writer points out that "the school may be considered to be more immediately under the patronage of Mr Paterson, the principal heritor; who, besides taking a very active part, and subscribing very liberally himself, pays for teaching twelve scholars, children of such poor as cannot pay the usual fees; and every year, upon the examination of the school by the Presbytery of Dundee, he attends himself, when in the country, and gives premiums of Bibles, New Testaments, collections, account-books, pens and paper, to be distributed by the examiners to such of the scholars of each class as they may think most deserving." At a time of scarcity in the kingdom, near the close of last century, Mr Paterson evinced a liberality which redounded to his honour. The crop of 1795 was so very deficient over the country, "particularly in the Carse of Gowrie, that before February, 1796, there was every appearance, not only of scarcity, but of want, and which would probably have been the case in this (Longforgan) parish, had not the heritors exerted themselves in an extraordinary degree. Mr Mylne of

Mylnefield, and Mr Wemyss of Laurieston, who had oats, took charge of their own tenants; but as Lord Kinnaird and Mr Paterson had neither oats nor meal of their own, they sent from London 400 quarters of the best mealing English oats, which they directed to be ground into meal, to be sold at the Dundee market price to all of their tenants who wanted, and who could afford to pay; and to those, whose daily earnings were not sufficient to maintain themselves and family, they ordered the meal to be given out weekly at a reduced price, *i.e.*, at 1s per peck, and to continue till next harvest; and to the poor for nothing."

Mr Paterson's career of usefulness was concluded in 1817, when he died. By his marriage with Lord Gray's daughter, Anne, he had seven sons and three daughters. His eldest son and heir, George, was born on 1st January, 1778. He entered the army, and became Colonel of the Third Foot Guards. In 1818 he was married to Margaret, daughter of John Smith, Esq., by whom he had a son and a daughter. His death took place on 14th July, 1846. He was succeeded by his only son, George, who was born on 15th June, 1819. Mr George Paterson attained the University degree of M.A., and passed, in 1842, as an advocate at the Scottish Bar. He married Catherine Jemima Jane, daughter of Joseph Robertson, Esq., and had three sons and four daughters. About twenty-five years ago, he took a prominent share in the discussions which arose regarding the desirability of some change in the modes of striking the fiars. Mr Paterson had studied the subject in all its bearings, and in 1853, he published an *Historical Account of the Fiars in Scotland*. This pamphlet is of permanent interest and utility, as embodying all the information obtainable respecting the origin and history of our system of obtaining the annual average prices of grain. "The existence of the practice of striking fiars, at least to a partial extent, is very ancient," we are informed, "and the commencement of its use in individual counties may be pretty correctly ascertained. The weight of the scanty evidence which can be collected on the subject,

seems to incline to the opinion that it was originally instituted to ascertain the value of the victual rents and feu-duties payable to the Crown; and that fiars were, accordingly, first struck by the Court of Exchequer, on information as to the prices of grain, given in by the Sheriffs of Counties; but that, afterwards, the business was committed to the Sheriffs themselves, who performed it generally by means of a jury." The year 1630 is given as the date when the Sheriff Fiars commenced in Perthshire. The term *fiar* is probably derived from an old French word *feur*, meaning proportion or average. Several of Mr Paterson's suggestions in this work have been adopted by the Perthshire Fiars Court. In 1857, while the subject still engaged public attention, he issued another pamphlet—*The Striking of the Fiars in Scotland. What is to be done?*—the principal portion of which had previously appeared in *Macphail's Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Journal*. The author's death took place on 25th February, 1867. His eldest son, George Frederick, then succeeded to Castle Huntly.

Here our historical retrospect of Castle Huntly closes. But we may appropriately append a few notes concerning the antiquities of the parish of Longforgan, gleaned chiefly from the Old Statistical Account:—

1. WALLACE'S STONE.—In 1797, a villager of Longforgan, named Smith, a weaver, and the farmer of a few acres of land, had in his possession a stone, which was called "Wallace's Stone." It was what used to be called in the country a "Bear Stone," hollow like a mortar, and used to unhusk the bear or barley, as a preparation for the pot, with a huge wooden mell, long before barley mills were known. Its station was on one side of the door, and it was covered with a flat stone for a seat, when not otherwise employed. The most remarkable part of its history was, that upon this stone Wallace sat in his way from Dundee, when he fled, after killing the Governor's son, and was fed with bread and milk by the goodwife of the house, from whom the man, Smith, was himself descended, and whose ancestors had lived there, in nearly the same station and circumstances, for about 500 years. This stone, says a subsequent writer, "is kept as clear and clean as any dish in the house, and is exposed in as favourable a place for view as if it were a splendid piece of family china."

2. THE MARKET KNOWE.—A tumulus or barrow, on part

of what was once the muir of Forgan, about six feet high, and 28 yards diameter, surrounded with a ditch 10 yards wide, was called the "Market Knowe," as the markets were anciently held there; and the country people remarked that although the whole ground around it was covered with heath and broom, the knowe always preserved a beautiful green sward. Stone coffins were found in the tumulus. A few years before 1797, an earthen pot was discovered, containing 700 silver coins, all about the size of a sixpence, and all inscribed *Edward*, — and other four silver coins, same size, inscribed *Alexander Dei Gratia Scotorum Rex*. The discoverer sold them all privately to a shopkeeper in Dundee for £10 or £12. Nearly about the same time, there was found, in the parish of Inverarity, Forfarshire, just such another pot, containing exactly the same number of silver coins, 700 of Edward I. and four of Alexander.

3. CHURCH OF LONGFORGAN.—Before the Reformation, the church of Longforgan with its emoluments belonged to the Canons of the Priory of St Andrews, who served the cure by a resident vicar-pensioner. At the Reformation, Longforgan, like the other properties of the Priories of St Andrews, was annexed to the Crown, from which it was afterwards separated, and then conferred upon the Magistrates of Dundee, for the benefit of the burgh, by the Charter of Mortification of Charles I., dated 14th September, 1641. This charter was confirmed, by Act of the Scottish Parliament, which passed on 12th July, 1661:—"Our Sovereign Lord, with consent of the Estates of this first Parliament, ratifies, approves, and confirms the Charter of Mortification granted by his Majesty's said royal father of everlasting memory, with consent of his Commissioners of Exchequer therein specified of date the 14th day of September, 1641, to the Provost, Bailies, Council, and community of the foresaid burgh of Dundee, and their successors, and annexed and incorporated to the foresaid burgh, of the teind sheaves of all sundry towns, lands, barns, and others whatsoever, lying within the parish of Longforgan and sheriffdom of Perth, dispensing with the generality: as also of the advocacy, donation, and right of patronage of the same parish kirk of Longforgan, with power to them to present a sufficient minister to the foresaid kirk and modified stipend thereof, as oft as the same shall vaik: which teinds and patronage his Majesty's royal father dissolved from the Crown, and united and annexed the same to the foresaid burgh." The town of Dundee, however, soon alienated these grants; and the patronage was in the hands of the Earl of Strathmore, and was acquired by Mr Paterson when he purchased the estate. The tower of the church was erected by the first Earl of Strathmore: as the following inscription upon it bears:—"Founded in the year 1690, and finished at the charge of Patrick, Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn, Viscount Lyon, Lord Glammis &c. The bells were given by the Session, and the clock by the frank contribution of the people."

4. **CROSS OF LONGFORGAN.**—In the middle of the village of Longforan there was a market cross, consisting of a pillar of one stone, with a lion on the top of it, standing upon a pedestal of masonry of several steps; the whole height of the pillar being 21 feet. It had been erected by one of the Earls of Strathmore, probably Earl Patrick, as there is another built by him exactly resembling it at Glammis. This cross was taken down some years previous to 1797, and was set up upon a rocky eminence called "Cromwell's Knowe," within the park of Castle Huntly.

5. **OLD LEASES OF LAND.**—Between 1760 and 1770 the tacks entered into with the larger tenants in the parish were generally for 38 years, to themselves, heirs, executors, and assignees, with power to sublet. The tenants were all thirled to a particular mill, and had to perform various services. Liferent tacks were not uncommon, and sometimes extended to two or three lives. In some tacks a very extraordinary clause was introduced, viz. : the tenant had leave to name any life he pleased during his lease, upon which his possession was to continue. The small farmers and acremen had no tacks, but were tenants at will; and between the years 1750 and 1760, it was an established custom that the Earl of Strathmore's officers uplifted the portion of rent paid in kind from these small holdings, by entering the fields and appropriating one-tenth of the crop, which was carried off, corn and fodder; and no tenant dared to lead a sheaf of corn till that was done. About 1750, the best clay farms were let at 5s per acre. A few years after, when valued for new leases, they were supposed to be over-rated at 10s. In 1759 they were let at 17s; in 1782, they rose to 25s; and in 1786, they were at 45s.

6. **THE MAIDEN FEAST.**—Until nearly the end of last century, it was the custom in Longforan parish to give what was called a "Maiden Feast," upon the finishing of the harvest; and to prepare for which the last handful of corn reaped in the field was called "The Maiden." This was generally contrived to fall into the hands of one of the finest girls in the field, and it was dressed up in ribbons, and brought home in triumph, with the music of fiddles or bagpipes. A good dinner was given to the whole band, and the evening spent in jovialty and dancing, while the fortunate lass who took the Maiden was the queen of the feast; after which this handful of corn was dressed out, generally in the form of a cross, and hung up, with the date of the year, in some conspicuous part of the house. When this custom was done away with, shortly before 1797, an equivalent was given,—in the shape of a gratuity to each shearer of sixpence and a loaf of bread. Some farmers, however, still continued to give their servants a dinner and a jovial evening, by way of harvest-home. But the *Maiden Feast*, or *Kirn*, was not, of course, a custom peculiar to Longforan, or the Carse of Gowrie. It was commonly observed over the Scottish Lowlands. Burns tells of the "rantin' kirn," and "that merry night we get the corn in." While the last handful

of corn cut was called "The Maiden," the last cartful of stuff brought in from the field was called "Winter" and it was reckoned as extremely unlucky and foreboding great calamity if "The Maiden" was shorn after sunset. *The Har'st Rig*, a poem written in 1786 by a farmer (whose name is unknown) living in the vicinity of Edinburgh, and first published in 1794, gives a vivid picture of the feast which rewarded the labours of the field:—

At length the Har'st draws to a close,
The stately stooks stand thick in rows,
And now the bonest farmer knows
 What crop he'll ha'e,
When 'tis a' in, he bounty shows,
 And Feast does gie.

For now the *Maiden* has been win,
And *Winter* is at last brought in;
And syne they dance and haud the *Kirn*
 In Farmer's ha',
Where mirth and joy do now begin
 To gladden a'.

For there baith man, and wife, and wean,
Are stegh'd while they dou' stand their lane,
For a' the langboard now does grane
 Wi' swacks o' kale,
And mony a dainty rough fat bane,
 And reaming ale!

Auld William sits at the board-head,
And says the Grace wi' grace indeed!
To which they a' tak' special heed,
 Till he does close;
Syne to they fa' wi' might and speed
 Keen to the brose.

Auld John, the stalwart Chelsea man
(Wha's now ta'en in to redd the barn),
Sits here and drives about the can
 Weel fill'd wi' stout;
He drinks, "The King—him prosper lang!"
 Syne toots it out.

To turn the timmer they're no sweer,
And mony a tale they'll tell or speir,
Or reckon up what time fern-year
 The *Kirn* was held,
And how the mickle ox or steer
 That time was fell'd.

* * * * *

But now they throw aside a' care,
And on sair-wark they think nae mair,
But tak' wi' joy a hearty share
 Of ilka thing,
Till they as blythe and happy are
 As ony king.

James Grahame, too, in his *British Georgics*, does not forget this pleasing rural festival, but describes with zest, how

————— In many a lowland vale,
 These annual revels fill, with simple glee,
 The husbandman, and cottar, man and child.*

* Stuart's *Historical Account of Fowlis-Easter*; Douglas' *Peerage of Scotland*; Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xix., (Parish of Longforgan); Dr Robertson's *General View of Perthshire Agriculture*; Burke's *Landed Gentry*, vol. ii.; Myles' *Rambles in Forfarshire*.

A COVENANTER'S BURIAL.

We buried him darkly at dead of night,
The sods with our bayonets turning,
By the struggling moonbeam's misty light,
And the lantern dimly burning.

* * * * *

Few and short were the prayers we said,
And we spoke not a word of sorrow,
But we steadfastly gazed on the face that was dead,
And we bitterly thought of the morrow.

Wolfe.

ON an evening, early in the month of April, 1679, a sudden commotion was occasioned in Perth, by a report being noised about the streets that a Covenanting preacher, highly obnoxious to the Government, had just died, under hiding, in the town. This discovery being made known to the Magistrates, they deemed themselves called upon to take action in the melancholy matter, for the exoneration of themselves from any suspicion of connivance at the concealment of such a person within their ports. Nor could their fears be reckoned groundless. It was a troubled time, full of black forebodings. The period of ten years, known as "the *blinks* of the Persecution," was closing. The *Indulgence*, granted in 1669, had not justified the expectations of its authors. It healed no divisions, but rather rendered them more marked and embittered. Government affected conciliation for a season, but failed in making any impression on the stubborn attitude of the stricter portion of the Presbyterian party. The recusants, in fact, waxed bolder. Conventicles, which had at first been mostly confined to private houses, began to be held in the open fields, and were attended by multitudes. "Conventicles increased," says Kirkton, "both in houses and fields, where they were indeed most offensive; for the men went ordinarily with arms, and the soldiers next adjacent looked upon them as the appearance of an enemy." Measures of suppression were put forth. Fines were imposed on all landed

proprietors who permitted such gatherings to be held on their grounds : and sometimes entire parishes were laid under exaction. The military were employed to disperse the meetings, and bloodshed frequently ensued. The Conventicle-preachers were placed under the ban of the law, with a price (500 marks) upon their heads; and they retaliated with unsparing denunciation of the ungodly rulers, and more especially of the Prelates, the chief of whom, Archbishop Sharp, was singled out as the object of the most rancorous hatred. An absolute monomania concerning that dignitary possessed the minds of his enemies. No falsehood,—no slander was too vile to be heaped upon his head. He was accused of being the instigator of every harsh step the Privy Council took. If a peasant was shot on the moors, his death was laid at James Sharp's door. Already had the Archbishop's life been attempted by a desperate fanatic, and, after an interval of years, the assassin had expiated his crime on the scaffold; but he left those behind him whose evil passions prompted them to consummate the murderous deed in which he failed. Truly, the time and men's thoughts and aims were out of joint. Ecclesiasticism was becoming a burning fever in the blood. Outed ministers, swayed by a wild enthusiasm, fancied themselves endowed with the spirit of prophecy, and went about predicting direful judgments upon their oppressors and upon the guilty land. But it needed no supernatural gift to foresee that events were drawing to a crisis,—that some dread catastrophe was impending in the near future.

In the midst of so perilous a condition of affairs, it was no wonder that the Perth Magistrates felt alarm on hearing that one of the wandering ministers had been concealed for some time, and had died, within their jurisdiction. Only three years before—the town was subjected to a fine on the score of holding Conventicles : and later, there had been serious disturbances in connection with such unlawful assemblages in the neighbourhood of the city. On Sunday, the 14th October, 1678, a conventicle met at Methven,—the

tent being pitched at the distance of a couple of bow-shots from the Parish Church; and part of the congregation came from Perth. But Lady Methven, in the absence of her husband, led out her retainers in arms, —riding boldly at their head, with, as she said, “the light horseman’s piece bent, on my left arm, and a drawn tuck in my right hand,”—and forced the crowd to remove from her bounds. Next Saturday and Sunday, the ports of Perth were guarded, by order of the Magistrates, “to keep in the rabble of rebels,”—those of the inhabitants suspected of having been at Methven, and of intending to go there again or somewhere else on a similar illegal errand. On that Sunday, however, a conventicle was held at Lawhill, above Cultenchar, one of the Ochil Hills, in the parish of Forgandenny—a parish which was then without a stated pastor, the former incumbent, Mr David Orme, having been ejected, for Nonconformity, soon after the Restoration, and no successor was appointed for many years. Some show of reason, therefore, existed for the holding of this conventicle; but it was surprised and broken up by the Laird of Ballechin, at the head of a party of Atholemen; and in the dispersal, one man was killed by a shot from the Highlanders. Wodrow tells the story thus:—“By an attested account I find, this year there was a conventicle in Perthshire, at the hill of Coltenachar, in the parish of Forgandenny; and upon the Lord’s day, an officer with a company of wild Highlanders came suddenly upon them, and without any orders to dismiss, or essaying to seize any of them, discharged their pieces among the poor unarmed people. By good providence there was but one man killed, Andrew Breddy, a wright by trade, who lived at my Lord Ruthven’s gate, in the green of Freeland. He left behind him a widow and four orphans.” Lady Methven writes that Ballechin and his band “got a sore day’s tassel amongst these Ochil hills. The Athole men got sore travels, but they went home laden with less or more”—meaning, we presume, that they seized what plunder came to their hands.

The minister who had died, under hiding, in Perth, was Mr John Wellwood, respecting whose connections and career not so much seems to be known as might have been expected, considering that he was a remarkable or representative man of his period. He was born about 1649, and was the son of Mr James Wellwood, minister at Tindergarth. Uncommon gifts and graces distinguished him. After obtaining license as a preacher, his talents soon manifested themselves. Some five or six sermons which he delivered in Tindergarth pulpit are spoken of as having produced upon the hearers far more lasting effect for good than all the previous labours of his father in that charge. John Wellwood had a weakly constitution : he was tall, thin, and spare : and his habits were abstemious, like those of an anchorite. But an ardent temperament was his, and he was actuated by a keen and absorbing sympathy with the downtrodden cause of the Covenant : hence he consorted with Mr Richard Cameron, sharing his views of Kirk and State, and emulating his resolution to contend in the high places of the field for the Presbyterian principle. Once he appears to have been settled in the parish of Tarbolton; but his sentiments becoming known to those in authority, he was forthwith extruded. Thus, thrown upon his own resources, he roamed to and fro in the country, and particularly in the shire of Fife, breaking the bread of life wherever he found opportunity, preaching at public and private convocations of the faithful, testifying against the prevailing corruptions, and ever gaining more and more esteem. According to the popular belief, he had the gift of prophecy, and certain of his notable sayings are on record. "One Sabbath when he was going to preach" at a field meeting, "and the tent set up for him, the laird on whose ground it was, caused lift it"—that he might escape the fine—"and set it on another laird's ground. But when Mr Wellwood saw it he said—'In a short time that laird shall not have one furr of land.' Some quarrelled him for saying so (this laird being then a great professor). He said, 'Let alone a little, and he

will turn out in his own colours.'” No long time elapsed ere the great professor fell out in open iniquity, “and became most miserable and contemptible” in the eyes of all good men. Wellwood’s constitutional weakness was evidently aggravated by the course of life he chose to lead as a wandering preacher, exposed to many privations. But though his frail frame gradually yielded to the enfeebling influence of the circumstances in which he moved, his strength of will and his devotion to the cause which he had espoused remained unsubdued. It was with peculiar fervour that he pressed the acceptance of his principles upon others; and in prayer he sometimes wrestled for hours at a stretch. His few sermons which survive “breathe a somewhat uncompromising spirit,” it has been said, “and give utterance to a zeal bordering on fieriness of temper”; but doubtless much of that heat of temper may be ascribed to the depth of his convictions, and to the incessant and irritating hardships which fell to his lot. His health began decidedly to break down in the beginning of the year 1679. In the flower of his age he was prematurely worn out, but as the body failed, his “clear spirit” seemed to increase in prophetic power. Perhaps “the sunset of life gave him mystical lore, and coming events cast their shadows” athwart his mental vision. More probably, his alleged predictions—if they were uttered by him at all (which may well be doubted), chiefly originated in his personal knowledge of the secret machinations of some of his party. Before he left Fife, he said to a friend—“You shall have a brave summer of the Gospel this year”: and the summer produced assassination and rebellion. One of his last public appearances was at Boulterhall, in Fife, when, in addressing his audience, he pointed with his hand towards St Andrews, and cried—“If that unhappy prelate, Sharp, die the death of all men, God has never spoken by my mouth!” Then observing a manservant wearing the Archbishop’s livery among the congregation, he called to him, at the close of the discourse, to stand up, and thus addressed him—“I de-

sire you, before all these witnesses, when thou goest home, to tell thy master that his treachery, tyranny, and wicked life are near an end, and his death shall be both sudden, surprising, and bloody; and, as he hath thirsted after and shed the blood of the saints, he shall not go to his grave in peace!" Granting that these words were actually spoken, was this language to be tolerated? It distinctly indicated cognisance of, or rather participation in, a mad cabal to murder the Archbishop.

With consumption preying upon his vitals, and feeling himself fast sinking, Mr Wellwood made his way quietly to Perth, where he found a shelter in the house of a citizen, named John Barclay. Anybody ran a great risk in sheltering him; for, had he been discovered, his entertainer might have been heavily fined, like the Laird of Balhousie, who, in 1672, was amerced in the sum of £1000 sterling for harbouring the younger John Welsh, grandson of Knox. Nor was Wellwood's place of retreat kept wholly a secret. He was not restrained by failing strength or the dread of danger, from ministering in his secluded chamber to those adherents who privately assembled around his death-bed. "None," we are told, "but such as were looked upon to be friends to the persecuted cause knew that he was in town; and his practice was to call them in, one family after another, and discourse to them about their spiritual state;" and, indeed, "while he was able to speak, he laid himself out to do good to souls." One day he was visited by the son of Aiton of Inchdairnie, in Fife,—a stripling of about eighteen,—who gave him some account of the proceedings of Archbishop Sharp. "You will shortly be quit of him," said Mr Wellwood, "and he will get a sudden and sharp off-going, and you will be the first that will take the good news of his death to heaven." This spiritually-minded man was confidently assured, we see, that a dastardly atrocity would be hailed as "good news" in the mansions of the blest. Let us rather hope that he has been foully lied upon. To another person who came to

see him, the preacher delivered a prophecy to the effect that "many of the Lord's people should be in arms that summer for the defence of the Gospel," which rising would, however, work no deliverance, and "the public standard of the Gospel should fall for some time;" but that ultimately "there would be the most glorious deliverance and reformation that ever was in Britain, wherein the Church should never be troubled any more with Prelacy."

The hour of departure came when the showers and the sun-glints of April had begun to gladden the earth, and give promise of the floral wealth of May. In the morning of the day on which he expired, Wellwood exclaimed, when he opened his heavy eyes to the welcome light — "Now eternal light! and no more night and darkness to me!" He never saw another eve. The seal of dissolution was on his brow: and before the shades of gloaming gathered upon the city, his spirit peacefully passed away. He had said in a sermon that "it is very fair if we go to heaven, though it be in a bloody winding-sheet:" but the bloody winding-sheet had not been for him: it was reserved for the Primate of St Andrews. After dark, the body was removed to the house of a neighbour-woman, Janet Hutton, in order to screen John Barclay from trouble. But the fact of Wellwood's death quickly spread, and the Magistrates were thrown into consternation for what might result. Some of them had been only two months installed in office; for, in consequence of disputes and irregularities, the Provost and two of the Bailies chosen at the previous Michaelmas were displaced by the Privy Council, and declared incapacitated for three years, and others put in their room, on 4th February, 1679,—the Provost being now Mr Robert Lundie. A hasty consultation having been held, the Magistrates ordered the dead preacher's remains to be arrested, which was done, and the corpse remained under Janet Hutton's roof all night. Next morning, the excitement in the town was redoubled; and as the hours went by, a considerable number of

Fife-men, to whom speedy word of Mr Wellwood's death had been sent, arrived to attend his funeral, and it was expected that he would be interred in the Greyfriars' Burying-ground. But the Magistrates, dreading popular demonstration and uproar, announced their prohibition of the interment taking place at Perth, and, to support their authority, they called out the burgh militia. On doing so, however, they were met by an unforeseen obstacle. The militia arms and accoutrements—the pikes and muskets, the buff-coats and bandoliers—were in the official custody of John Bryce, the Guildry Boxmaster or Treasurer, and he, being a friend of the good old cause, stoutly refused to deliver them out. The Magistrates, in high dudgeon, ordered his committal to the Tolbooth, whither he went, stiff in his refusal; but afterwards, for the sake of peace, it was agreed that the corpse should be carried away and buried at a reasonable distance beyond the boundaries of the burgh.

Late in the day, the funeral procession left the city, and took a southerly direction, as if Fife was the destination. The train of mourners was swelled by many of the townspeople, who were carefully noted by the emissaries of the Magistrates, that on their return the chief of them might be sent to prison as disloyal persons. When the company had gone southwards as far as Dron, they resolved to make the interment there, and sent forward a couple of men to obtain the keys of the parish kirkyard, and prepare a grave. No difficulty was anticipated. The ostensible minister of Dron, Mr Alexander Pitcairne, was one of the recusant Presbyterians, and had been deprived of his stipend, and the church declared vacant; but the vacancy was allowed to remain unfilled, and Mr Pitcairne continued, by the forbearance of his ecclesiastical superiors, to abide in the parish, carrying on his ministrations to all who came to hear him. In October, 1678, the Synod of Dunblane, “considering that Mr Alexander Pitcairne, minister at Dron, whose absence from Presbytery and Synod has been connived at these many years bygone,

has nevertheless begun of late (as they are informed) to do things very disorderly, such as the entertaining people of neighbouring parishes at the administration of the Word and sacraments, without testimonials from their proper pastors, which, if continued in, may prove of dangerous consequences to the order and peace of the Church," directed one of the brethren to "go to Mr Pitcairne and acquaint him with their dissatisfaction with these his practices, and to exhort him in their name to hold himself within his own charge, without doing anything grievous to his neighbour ministers." When the Synod met on 8th April, 1679, report was made that "the said Mr Pitcairne had very kindly entertained the connivance and kindness he had met with, and that what had given offence was done mostly without his knowledge; but he had promised to be more watchful for the future, so that he hoped that none of his neighbours should have any ground to question him as to these things." Mr Pitcairne stood in these relations with the Synod—desirous of avoiding fresh cause of provocation to the Diocesan authority, which hitherto had not pressed him very hardly—when the burial party reached the parish with Mr Wellwood's remains. It is asserted that the two men went to Mr Pitcairne, and asked for the keys of the churchyard, which he refused to give them. However it chanced, the request was denied. But the darkness of night had now descended upon the Ochils, and the company bore the corpse over the kirkyard dyke,—dug a grave,—and laid their dead in his long home. This was the last scene in the history of John Wellwood.

A week or two—not a month—had elapsed when his prophecies against Archbishop Sharp met with terrible fulfilment. The Primate was barbarously murdered, while crossing Magus Moor, on Saturday, 3d May.

In after years a memorial-stone was placed over Wellwood's grave in Dron Kirkyard, bearing the following metrical inscription:—

Here lies a follower of the Lamb,
 Thro' many tribulations came ;
 For long time of his Christian race,
 Was persecute from place to place.
 A Scottish prophet here behold,
 Judgment and mercy who foretold :
 The Gospel banner did display,
 Condemned the sins of that sad day,
 And valiantly for truth contended,
 Until by death his days were ended.

Another Covenanter, who lost his life at the close of Montrose's wars, in September, 1645, lies in the ruined Chapel of Ecclesiamagirdle, which was one of the two small chapels, in addition to the Parish Church, belonging to Dron Parish before the Reformation. This man's epitaph is as follows :—

Heir Lyis ane vertous Husbandman, Thomas Small, who died for Religion, Couenant, King, and Countrie, the 1st of September, 1645, of his age 58.

Memento Mori.

And we may also quote the inscription on the gravestone of the victim at the Colteuchar Conventicle, who was buried in the Churchyard of Forgandenny :—

Here lies Andrew Brodie, Wright in Forgandenny, who, at the break of a meeting, October, 1678, was shot by a party of Highlandmen, commanded by Ballechan, at a cave's mouth, flying thither for his life, and that for his adherence to the Word of God and Scotland's covenanted work of Reformation. Rev. 12. c. 7.

The adjacent parish of Arngask was not without its sufferer during those gloomy days. In 1682, Laurence Gibson, a resident there, "who used," says Wodrow, "to be a daily hearer of Mr Pitcairn while at Dron," was apprehended and brought to the Tolbooth of Perth. "This man was married to a servant of that excellent family of Ruthven, who did what they could for his liberation, nothing being to be laid to his charge but hearing a Presbyterian minister not turned out of his church. Several ladies went into Perth, and most earnestly besought his liberation; and when that was not allowed, they offered sufficient caution, and craved he might be bailed till he answered his indictment, but nothing could be heard; and those persons of honour had no weight in so reasonable a request. The poor

man was sent into Edinburgh, and there, upon no other head than what is above, was sentenced to be a recruit to one of the Scots regiments, in service of the States. The sentence was executed, and he went over, and continued in that service till his father-in-law, John Ruthven, advanced a considerable sum of money to Captain, afterwards Major Henry Balfour of Dunbog, who procured his pass, and so he got home, and continued a servant in the family of Ruthven till the Revolution. This remarkable severity," adds Wodrow, "I have attested by a person of honour, nearly related to that noble family, who knew him and all the steps of this matter."

Mr Pitcairne was likewise visited with tribulation in 1682. He was altogether expelled from the parish of Dron, and obliged to seek a refuge in Holland. At the Revolution, he returned to Scotland, and to his old charge: and the first minute of the Presbytery of Perth after that great change runs thus:—

AT PERTH, the 30th day of July, 1690 years.

Mr Alexander Pitcairne, minister at Drone, having now returned to the exercise of his ministrie there again, by virtue of ane Act of the Convention of Estates of this kingdom, ordaining ministers that were outed from their ministrie in 1662, when our Presbyterian Government was overturned and Prelacie introduced, and are yet alive, to return now to their former charges; and the said Mr Alexander Pitcairne, being at the foresaid time Moderator of this Presbytery, doth now again, with the hearty consent and approbation of the brethren present,

TAK THE CHAIR.

Mr Pitcairne was appointed Principal of St Salvator's College at St Andrews, in 1691. He died as Principal of St Mary's College there, in 1698.*

* John Howie's *Scots Worthies*; Kirkton's *History of the Church of Scotland*; Dr Simpson's *Voice from the Desert*, p. 101; Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* (Second Edition), vol. ii., p. 484, vol. iii., p. 391; Crookshank's *History of the Church of Scotland*; *Register of the Diocesan Synod of Dunblane*, pp. 20, 136, 141, 142; *New Statistical Account of Perthshire*; Dr Wilson's *Presbytery of Perth*; *A Cloud of Witnesses*.

THE "SANG SCHOOL" OF PERTH AND
ITS MASTERS. —Part 1st.

PSALMS then are always tuned best
When there is most exprest
The holy Penman's heart :
All Music is but discord where
That wants, or doth not bear
The first and chiefest part.
Christopher Harvey's "Synagogue."

WHEN our forefathers at the Reformation abolished the Romish ritual, including the use of the organ in divine worship, they retained an old institution by which the practice of sacred music in connection with the services of the Church was taught among the people. This old institution was the "Sang School" or Choral School, which in various Scottish towns preceded, in point of antiquity, the Grammar or Burgh School,—both being founded by the ancient Churchmen. In the north of Scotland especially, according to Professor Innes, "the choral school has often been the groundwork of our burgh grammar schools," some of which date far back. So early as the reign of William the Lion, a Grammar School was established in Perth by the monks of Dunfermline Abbey to whom David I. had gifted the patronage of St John's Church, with the teinds, &c., thereto pertaining. About the thirteenth century, much pains came to be bestowed on Church music, and the singing was greatly admired. "The melodious services of the greater churches," we are told, "were considered as choice entertainments, from the choirs of young voices, and the art with which they were conducted. At this period were also known the musical improvements of counterpoint and descant, or compositions in various parts; for which were used voices of different compass of four classes, only a third above each other." In many places, sacred music was made a branch of the education imparted in the Burgh Schools; but in Cathedral cities

and others the *Sang School* was kept as a separate establishment for training of classes in singing and chanting, which seems to have been the case as regards Perth: and instances are known over the country of the Grammar School and the Sang School remaining distinct down to the end of the eighteenth century. Great attention was evidently paid in Perth to the proficiency of the choral services; and St John's Church possessed what was probably the first organ introduced in Scotland. The Scottish people were always fond of Church music: hence, at the Reformation, although the Popish ritual was swept away, the science of sacred song continued to be cultivated for the Protestant sanctuary, and the Sang School was maintained, the Master whereof, if he renounced Romanism, and was otherwise eligible, being generally constituted the Precentor or "Uptaker of the Psalm in the Kirk."

The first Master of the Sang School of Perth, after the Reformation, of whom we know anything, was John Swinton, who had a salary out of the revenues of the Franciscan or Greyfriars Monastery, and was provided with a school-house and dwelling-house, with garden. In the month of January, 1578-79, a new arrangement was made with him as to his salary:—

1578-79, January 11. The whilk day John Swentoun, Master of the Sang School of this town, expoued to the Assembly of the Ministers and Elders, that he had great travel in teaching the youth of this town in music, and in taking up of the Psalms, and that the Council of the town had made him title of gift to the annualls of the Grey Fraternity altars within this town: yet notwithstanding he was contented to submit himself to the Assembly of the Kirk herein, and receive of benevolence what they pleased to bestow upon him including his travel and good service: and because the Assembly was willing to gratify the said John for his good service, therefore they willed him to discharge any right he had or pretended to the said altaraige, and to receive of benevolence as they would bestow upon him. In respect whereof, the said John willingly, by these presents, has renuded, and presently renudes and overgives, all right title of gift he has, or may have, to the said altaraige of the Grey Fraternity, given to him by the Council of this town, or any other ways, with all letters or executorialls raised thereupon. In respect whereof, the Assembly of the Elders is content, that the said John Swentoun intromit with their annualls of their said altaraige,

induring the space of the year to come, and same also induring their wills, and according to his good services: providing always that he make no assignees to the uplifting of the said annuals, but only to take them up by himself; and to this effect the Assembly ordains the Master of the Hospitality to assist in the uplifting of the same as said is.

John Swinton, however, afterwards turned out to be an unfit person for his duties. The Kirk Session, on 2nd July, 1582, declared him "not qualified for that office," and also "guilty of divers other faults disagreeing in the person of him who has office in the Kirk of God"; and, therefore, they "ordained that he should on no ways pretend to such an office in time coming, or yet should take up the psalm in the kirk." Nevertheless he was continued, and on the 29th July, 1583, the Session ordained him, "first, to keep only the tenor in the psalm; secondly, to help and sustain his bairn, under the pain of deprivation of his office." Nothing is said about a successor until the spring of 1592, when on the 17th April that year the Kirk-Session ordained Adam Adamson and Patrick Blair, bailies "that on Monday next they speak the Council that an musician be had for uptaking of the Psalms in the kirk." Probably at this time Mr John Wemyss was appointed. He is found in office on 9th April, 1599, when the Session ordained "the Masters of the Hospital to give to Mr John Wemyss, Master of the Sang School, twenty-pounds for his quarter payment." On 21st May following, the Session made provision for a new school-house, the former one having apparently become ruinous. The Masters of the Hospital were ordained "to repair the house sometime inhabited by John Swinton, that Mr John Wemyss, present Master of the Sang School, may therein teach and train up the youth in the science of music, as also to build an stone dyke beside the said house betwixt St Andrew's aisle and the old south porch door that it may serve for an little yard." The house is thus shown to have been situated on the south side of St John's Church. By the end of October, 1604, John Wemyss had gone the way of all the earth. The Session, on the 29th of that month,

granted £80 to the widow and child of Mr John Wemyss, Master of the Sang School. Somebody else had to be sought out for the house with the little yard. A successor was chosen in another twelvemonth. On 21st October, 1605, "Mr James Young, musician, declared, in presence of the Session, that he was content to accept the office in taking up the Psalms in the kirk at preaching and prayers, and instructing the youth into the art of music: for the whilk, the Session promised to him yearly, induring his service in the said office, the sum of fourscore pounds, with his chalmer mail [his house rent], and this to be paid by the Masters of the Hospital, termly or quarterly, as the said Mr James shall require it." Mr James' tenure of office was short. He was succeeded by Mr Thomas Garvy, musician, who, being apparently well advanced in years, soon became incapacitated, and had to obtain an assistant or substitute in his duties. Eventually it was deemed necessary by the patrons that a new Master should be appointed; and accordingly, on 3d March, 1617, the Session thought it "very expedient that the Council and they concur, for providing an musician, for taking up the Psalms in the kirk, and for teaching of an Music School."

The filling up of the appointment brings prominently upon the stage an eminent son of Perth,—Henry Adamson, the poet,—concerning whose ancestry and life-story there is much to tell of local interest, connected as he was by ties of relationship and friendship with some of the citizen-families that held respectable station in the Fair City of his day: and we shall now endeavour to sketch his biography with greater amplitude of detail than has hitherto been done.

Dionysius Adamson, otherwise Constantine, was Burgh Clerk of Perth in the end of the fifteenth century. His name occurs in thirteen charters dated between 1491 and 1500, and he is sometimes called Adamson and sometimes Constantine. The next of the surname—probably a son or grandson of the Town-Clerk—was Patrick Adamson, who is said to have been a baker in

the town. At various periods from 1540 to 1562, he was elected to office in the Magistracy of Perth. In October, 1540, he became Fourth Bailie, and was re-elected to the same chair next year. He was chosen Dean of Guild four times successively, from 1551 to 1554, and again in 1559, and he was made Town Treasurer in 1555, 1560, and 1562. He had a family of three sons—Patrick, Henry, and James,—and two daughters,—Violet and Bessie. Violet became the wife of Andrew Simson, who, prior to the Reformation, was Master of the Grammar School of Perth, and who, cordially embracing the Protestant faith, was afterwards minister of Dunning and Cargill, and lastly at Dunbar. It was in Andrew Simson's school that the first incipient stirrings of the Reformed principles manifested themselves in Perth. One of the boys having read a satire by Sir David Lindsay, communicated the new light to his fellows, and subsequently the pupils interrupted and mocked a friar for his foolish preaching in St John's Church on a Lent Sunday. Simson having procured the book, it opened his eyes to the truth, and thenceforth he was fully (though secretly) prepared to welcome the Reformation. By his marriage with Violet Adamson, he had five sons, all of whom were ordained ministers of the Church of Scotland. Violet's sister, Bessie, was twice married—first to John Mercer, burgess of Perth; and, secondly, to John Gibson, resident in Yorkshire; which facts are instructed by two documents recorded in the Perth Burgh Register of Sasines, viz. :—1. Instrument, dated at Perth, 21st July, 1573, whereby Andrew Mercer, one of the Bailies of Perth (and who was afterwards made a Sheriff-Depute of Perthshire) takes the declaration of Bessie Adamson or Constine, daughter of Patrick Adamson, burgess of Perth, widow of John Mercer, and now wife of John Gibson, dwelling in Yorkshire, to the effect that she resigns to Mr Robert Mercer, parson of Banchorie, her right and title to that tenement in the Watergate, bounded on the north and west by premises possessed and occupied by Sir Simon Young, on the east by the

Watergate, and south by the Vennel (now known as Baxter's Vennel) leading to St John's Church, which had been the property of her late husband, John Mercer, which tenement she had before renounced in favour of Marjorie Mercer, her lawful daughter by John Mercer, her first husband : and 2d, Instrument, also of the above date, whereby the foresaid Andrew Mercer, in the name and on behoof of Mr Robert Mercer, Rector of Banquhorie Devenick, in Aberdeenshire, seeks Instrument of Sasine to put him in possession of the house in the Watergate, at the corner leading by the Vennel to St John's Church, which belonged to John Mercer, the deceased son of Mr Robert's paternal uncle, which had been sold and made over to Mr Robert, by Bessie Adamson or Constyne, now Gibson, widow of deceased John Mercer, cousin of Mr Robert. It would seem that Bessie's daughter, Marjorie, was now dead, hence this transfer of the property, which would have been hers had she been alive.

Of the three sons of Patrick Adamson, the eldest, Patrick, born at Perth, on 15th March, 1537, was destined to bear an important but thoroughly unenviable part in the ecclesiastical affairs of his country. He was a youth of the best promise, with a strong bent for learning, and a natural turn for poetical composition. He was educated, under the care of his brother-in-law, Andrew Simson, at the Grammar School of his native city. He then went to St Andrews, and completed his course of philosophy at St Mary's College, attaining the degree of Master of Arts. After leaving the University, and acting for some time as schoolmaster in Fife, he was ordained minister of the parish of Ceres; but this charge he soon resigned, and in the beginning of 1566 left Scotland as tutor or travelling companion to the eldest son of Sir James Makgill, Clerk Register, who intended to study the civil law in the continental universities. The tutor and his pupil were in France when the birth of Queen Mary's son, James (which took place on 19th June same year), being announced from Scotland,

Adamson composed a congratulatory Latin poem on the event, but unluckily calling the royal boy "Prince of Scotland, England, *France*, and Ireland," the French Government were so indignant that they punished the author with imprisonment, which he endured for six months, until released, on the special intercession of his Queen. He accompanied young Makgill to the Universities of Poitiers, Padua, and next to Geneva; but on going back to Paris, they were suspected as heretics, and forced to fly to Bourges, where Adamson spent seven months concealed in an inn. He relieved the tedium of his confinement by rendering the Book of Job into a Latin poem, and writing a Latin tragedy on the story of Herod. Not long after he left his refuge, his landlord, an old man of seventy, was accused of harbouring heretics, and was murdered by being thrown headlong from the top of his house! Adamson did not bid adieu to France until, in retaliation for his troubles, he had published a French version of the Confession of Faith. On returning to Scotland, he sometimes preached, and sometimes practised at the bar,—was ordained minister of Paisley,—entered into matrimony,—and became chaplain to the Regent Morton. This last appointment opened up to Adamson an unexpected path of ambition. The Regent raised him to the Archbishopric of St Andrews, in that *Tulchan* Episcopate upon which the bitterest vials of Presbyterian rancour were poured out. Adamson was fiercely assailed. He was accused of having altered his surname; but this was untrue—he had only dropped his family *alias* of Constantine, by which he had been long called, and which had appeared on the title-page of one of the earliest of his publications, where his name was given as "Patricij Adamsonij, *alias* Constantine." He fell into ill health, and unluckily sought a cure from the reputed skill of Alison Pearson, a noted witch. This folly exposed him to a fresh storm of ridicule and abuse, without affording him any relief from his ailments. A coarse metrical satire upon him—*The Legend of the Bishop of St*

Androis—alluded to his extraction as the son of a baker. Recounting the ingredients made use of by the witch in her incantations and medicaments, it mentions

St John's nut, and the four-leaved claver,
With tail and mane of a baxter aver,
Had carried hame heather to the oyne,
Cuttit off in the crook of the moon :

that is to say, the tail and mane of a baker's cart-horse, which had brought home heather to the oven. Heather was then the common fuel used by bakers, and was stacked upon their premises—a custom which facilitated the commission of a desperate crime in Edinburgh about this very time. "Upon the 2d day of December," 1584, writes David Moyses, "a baxter's boy, called Robert Henderson (no doubt by the instigation of Satan), desperately put some powder and a candle in his father's heather-stack, standing in a close opposite to the trone of Edinburgh, and burnt the same with his father's house, which lay next adjacent, to the imminent hazard of burning the whole town : for which, being apprehended most marvellously after his escaping out of the town, he was on the next day burnt quick [alive] at the cross of Edinburgh, as an example." That Adamson was a baker's son is asserted by the writer of *Vita P. Adamsoni*, appended to *Melvini Musæ*. The point, however, is of small significance except as a matter of local curiosity. The close of the Archbishop's career was sad. He was a man of intellect and learning, an able polemic, an industrious author, and a good Latin poet. Amongst his classical productions were Latin versions of the Lamentations of Jeremiah and the Revelation of St John; and he also turned Calvin's Catechism into Latin measure for the young King's use. But the unfortunate Prelate's opponents pursued him with the keenest animosity, and his courtly patrons failed to defend him against the unceasing attacks. Everything failed him. At last, broken down in frame and spirit, and overburdened with persecution and poverty, he made a formal sub-

mission to the General Assembly; and on 15th February, 1591-2, he was relieved of all his afflictions by the stroke of Death. Thus passed away Archbishop Adamson after a life of many vicissitudes. A quarto volume of his Latin translations from Scripture, entitled *Poemata Sacra*, was published by his son-in-law, Thomas Wilson, at London, in 1619.

The Archbishop's brother, Henry Adamson (the second son of the family), was a merchant in Perth, and was frequently chosen to magisterial office from 1570 to 1597, besides being an Elder and a member of the Kirk Session. He was made Third Bailie in 1570; Dean of Guild in 1571; Second Bailie in 1574; First Bailie in 1578 and 1579; and Dean of Guild in 1581 and 1597. He was married,—his wife's name being Helen Orme. But the latter years of his life proved unfortunate to his good fame, and he came to a bloody end, through the enmity of another Perth family called Peebles, as will be narrated farther on.

In 1529, John Peebles, was elected Fourth Bailie, but abjured his craft of Baxter or Baker, and pledged himself to attend none of the Baker Courts in time coming, apparently on account of some dispute in the Town Council affecting the validity of his seat. He was Treasurer in 1531; but is not heard of again. A presumable descendant of his, John Peebles, baker, was made Fourth Bailie in 1572; and in 1574, Oliver Peebles of Chapelhill was chosen Dean of Guild. At the election this last year the Magistrates took an oath by which they professed the true religion, renouncing all idolatry and superstition, and all Popish errors whatever, and avowing King James VI. for their only Sovereign, and to keep faithful and true allegiance to him; which oath continued from this time to be administered annually. Oliver Peebles of Chapelhill was often elected to the Magistracy during the next quarter of a century, as Bailie, Dean of Guild, and Treasurer. In 1577 a serious contention broke out in the Town Council regarding the financial affairs of the burgh, which had been dealt with in a hole-and-corner fashion

by a clique of the members,—little, as may be supposed, to the conservation of the revenues or the advantage of the community. The matter was brought before the Privy Council, at Holyrood House, on 27th August, 1577, by a complaint at the instance of Andrew Murray, burgess of Perth, who had been elected Town Treasurer in 1565, 1566, and 1567. The petition set forth the following extraordinary averments:—

That where Maister Patrick Whitlaw, ane of the Bailies of the said Burgh, Oliver Peebles, Dean of Guild thereof, and certain others to the number of six persons, being nominated to be Auditors to the receiving of the Treasurer's account of the said Burgh of divers years bygone, appointed to that effect the 15th day of March last bypast, at the whilk day the said Complainer, at the desire of the Provost of the said Burgh, compeared to have produced his Account as Treasurer of the said Burgh for the time from the month of November anno 1567 years to the month of May thereafter following or thereby. In the meantime the said Auditors, by collusion among themselves, would noways receive the said Complainer's Accounts. Seeing the whilk, and that three of them had been Treasurers of before, and were to make their ain Accounts, and clokit every ane with ane other, distributing the common-gude ilk ane to their ane particular advancement, the said complainer assured them that he should declare their collusion to my Lord Regent's grace and Lords of Secret Council, and cause either of their unlawful Accounts be recounted again by neutral Auditors, whereby that ane Treasurer should not be found Auditor to ane other's Accounts; and then immediately the said Treasurer and Dean of Guild, with their officers, put violent hands on the said complainer, rushed him to the Tolbooth, without any order, maist shamefully, and would take no caution, but detained him captive till the 29th day of March last bypast, and then to colour their oppression, gave in their complaint judicially, alleging the said complainer to have injured them, and stopped their Accounts making, and therefore desired him to be punished in his person, deprived of his freedom, to pay £20 of unlaw, and to be deprived for ever of bearing of offices, as the copy of their Complaint shewn to the said Lords of Secret Council bears.

All parties having compeared when called, the Privy Council obtained the names of seven Treasurers whose accounts required to be audited, and then “willing to remove all occasion of sedition that may arise within the said Burgh, by a neutral and indifferent way, to the pleasure of God, quieting of the same Burgh, and

removing of factions furth thereof, commanded and ordained either of the said parties to nominate eight persons whom they thought most meet and indifferent to be present with the Lords Auditors of Exchequer at the making of new of the Accounts of the foresaid years by the persons" who had been Treasurers for the time. Eight neutral persons were agreed upon by both parties, and the day of reckoning was fixed to be the 8th November following, at Edinburgh. It is to be hoped that the audit was duly carried through as ordered.

Next year, Oliver Peebles and his brother, John, were involved in a civic feud of great magnitude. Some "sedition and trouble" had happened among the citizens, one of whom, "John Peebles, burgess of the said burgh, was hurt and wounded in peril of his life." The Provost, Lord Ruthven, had imprisoned some of the authors and partakers of the tumult, ordered others out of the town for a time, and taken surety from "the principal of either party to keep the peace": and on the 3rd June (1578), the King and Privy Council, sitting at Stirling Castle, ordained John Peebles and Oliver Peebles, on the one part, and John Ross, Pittheavlis, Maister Patrick Whitlaw, William Hall, Baker, and George Johnstone *alias* M'Gregor, Skinner, on the other part, to find sureties, each party under the pain of £2000, that they should keep the peace till the first day of August next to come, or otherwise that, within 48 hours after charge, they shall enter themselves in ward, under pain of rebellion,—the said John and Oliver Peebles within the Palace of Linlithgow, and the four others within the Castle of Blackness, there to remain upon their own expenses until they obey the ordinance. But this was not the last of Oliver Peebles' troubles.*

* Innes' *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, p. 136; Thomson's *Illustrations of British History*, vol. ii., p. 127 (Constable's Miscellany); Grant's *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland*; Scott's *Lives of the Protestant Reformers*; Perth Kirk Session Records; M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*; Perth Burgh Register of Sasines: Protocol of Sir Henry Elder;

*THE "SANG SCHOOL" OF PERTH AND
ITS MASTERS.—Part 2nd.*

——SUCH is the infection of the time,
That, for the health and physic of our right,
We cannot deal but with the very hand
Of stern injustice and confused wrong.

King John.

WE have seen Oliver Peebles concerned in a "sedition" or riot. In the summer of 1581, his neighbour, Henry Adamson, was subjected to personal violence on the streets of Perth,—though the cause of the assault has not been clearly explained. The Kirk Session took up the case, by reason of Adamson being a member of their body, and held a sederunt on 3d July, 1581, when they, finding that "John Christison and William Watson, two of the mutineers that put violent hands on Henry Adamson, one of the elders," having been personally warned to appear that day, "compeared not, therefore the Assembly ordains the Bailies to put them in ward for their disobedience, there to remain until the Assembly send for them." On the 6th of July, the Session sat again for further investigation, when "after trial taken thereanent, and depositions of famous witnesses, it is found that John Mathie and John Christison were the two principal committers of the fault: therefore the Assembly ordains them to compear upon ane Sunday in the place of repentance in linen clothes, and therefrom to come down and ask the said Henry forgiveness, and also the congregation: also, each of them to pay forty shillings money to the poor before they enter to the said place. For performance whereof, the Assembly ordains the Bailies to put them in ward aye and until they perform the same, under the pain of excommunication." Other two suspected parties seem to have successfully defended themselves:—

Gilbert Billy, being accused if he was one of them that

Moyeses' Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 93; Cant's edition of *The Muses Threnodie; Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. ii, pp. 627, 703.

struck Henry Adamson, or if he was the occasion of his hurting, deponed that as he shall answer to God he was not one of them that hurt him, nor put hands on him, nor yet was the occasion thereof, but declares it was John Mathie.

William Watson, likewise being accused of the foresaid crime, deponed that he may never come to God's kingdom if he put hands on Henry Adamson, or if it was in his mind at that present to do any skaith to him; but of sudden purpose he happened to be new come into the town, and seeing them at combat, and a sword lying upon the causeway, he took up the sword, but struck at no man therewith; and he affirmed that he saw John Christison put hands on the said Henry, and saw John Mathie strike him.

And so the case was concluded.

The affairs of Oliver Peebles again claim our attention. Oliver, although a substantial citizen, a man of weight in the Town Council, an elder of the Kirk, and Laird of Chapelhill, was unhappy in his domestic relations. He had a bad wife, who by degrees made herself odious throughout the town. Jean Thornton,—that was her name,—becoming addicted to the bottle, gave the reins to her tongue, and cared little on whom she exercised its vituperative powers. Its lash fell unsparingly on friend and foe alike, stirring up strife on every hand. For sometime her husband bore patiently with her faults and follies, and was loth to believe all that was said about her. At length, her “flyting and banning” brought her before the Kirk Session, which Court had passed an Act on 31st July, 1581, to the effect that “every flyter convicted of flyting shall pay ane half mark to the poor, shall stand upon the Cross-head, and make their public repentance for satisfaction of the kirk and party.” On the 11th of the following September, the Session took cognizance of Mrs Peebles’ abuse of a maiden lady, Matty or Martha Guthrie, the bride-elect of Mr Patrick Galloway, the minister of Perth. At this meeting, the majority of the Session ordained Jean to be warned for that day week to hear evidence on the accusation. Her husband appealed against these proceedings, but on the 20th November, “the minister and elders think Matty Guthrie’s bill proven, and ordain the Act of Flyting to be put in exe-

cution against Jean Thornton, as it has been of before against others in all points :” and on the 27th, the Bailies of the town attended before the ecclesiastical Court and promised to enforce the Flying Act against Jean; “whereupon Oliver Peebles took an act, and protested that if she be hurt by them he will sue for remeid.” What the upshot was we cannot say : perhaps the Bailies refrained from harsh measures; but, at all events, the tongue of the loquacious Mrs Peebles still wagged unrestrainedly; and on 15th March, 1582-3, the Session, hearing that she had again vilified Matty Guthrie, ordered her to be dealt with under the Act. Poor Matty was then on the eve of her marriage : for on the 21st April formal intimation was made of her banns with Mr Patrick Galloway, and the two brothers Peebles were the cautioners for the due fulfilment of the contract, — Oliver being Matty’s surety. The entry in the Register stands thus :—

April 21, 1583. Whilk day, Mr William Rynd, minister at Kinnoull, and the elders being present, compeared Mr Patrick Galloway, minister at Perth, and Matty Guthrie, and desire their banns to be proclaimed. Cautioner for him, John Peebles; for her, Oliver Peebles. Term of marriage, Midsummer.

Oliver was doing what he could to obviate his wife’s slanders; but his wife continued altogether incorrigible; and on 14th October, 1583, “the baill elders in one voice appoint the excommunicating of Jean Thornton by Mr Patrick Galloway.” In the meantime Henry Adamson got himself mixed up with this drunken woman’s delinquencies, and in consequence he and her husband fell at great variance. Both being elders, their quarrel was adjudicated upon by the Kirk Session, and, after a long hearing, the decision was given in Adamson’s favour.

But Oliver and his wife were dragged before a far higher tribunal, and on a far more dangerous matter. When King James regained his liberty at a considerable interval after the Raid of Ruthven, he raised criminal proceedings against various individuals suspected of complicity in his seizure and detention by the Ruthven

party. Now, Oliver Peebles was well known as a firm adherent of the head of that party, the first Earl of Gowrie : and therefore, in those days, when men's fame and lives were at the mercy of every venomous whisperer, it was not surprising that Oliver, and his scolding spouse, and James Marshall of Pitcairns, should all three be included in a Summons of Treason, as having been implicated in the Raid of Ruthven. Much good Jean Thornton's unruly tongue could have rendered to political conspiracy ! But Jean was elevated to the rank of a traitress, aiming at the control of Government and the dethroning of the King ! The summons was called in the Justiciary Court, at Edinburgh, on 22d August, 1584, when the result was as follows :—

1584, August 22. *Oliver Peebles* of Chapelhill, *Jean Thornton*, his spouse, and *James Marshall* of Pitcairns. The whilk day, the King's grace and three Estates of this present Parliament, continues the Summons of Treason executed and indorsed, pursued at the instance of his Majesty, his Highness' Justice, and Mr David Makgill, his Highness' Advocate, touching the decerning of them [the three panels] to have committed and done certain points of Treason and Lesemajesty, as at mair length is contained in the said Summons raised thereupon, in the same form, force, and effect as it is now, but prejudice of party, unto the 20th day of September next to come, with continuation of days, and then farther process to be had thereintill as accords : at the whilk day ordains the said Advocate to produce sic writs, rights, reasons, documents, and other probations whilk he has or will use, for proving of the points of the said Summons against them again the said day. Whereupon the said Advocate asked instruments.

The case was no farther insisted in, because, apparently, no proof was forthcoming to support the charge.

Back we come to the Fair City and its concerns. Oliver Peebles maintained his position in the town, and was twice sent as its Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament in 1590 and 1596. But the feud betwixt him and Henry Adamson was not stanch'd by the Kirk Session's decision. Indeed, the animosity of the Peebles family to Adamson was irreconcilable; and when several years had flown, deepening and strengthening the current of rancour, the hand of Thomas Peebles, a citizen of Perth, and a brother or other kinsman of

Oliver, avenged the alleged wrong. At the Michaelmas elections of 1597, Henry Adamson was chosen Dean of Guild, and Oliver Peebles First Bailie, while Adamson's younger brother, James, a merchant, was made Third Bailie. Henry was not fated to fulfil his year of office. On the Good Friday of 1598 (the 14th April), he was attacked by Thomas Peebles on the open street, and slain outright ! This is all the information extant about the commission of the deed. The *Chronicle of Perth* notes :—"Being Gude Friday, Henry Adamson, Dean of Guild, slain by Thomas Peebles, and was buried on Peax day" (Pasch or Easter Day, the 16th April). The murderer immediately fled, and could not be found. On the 15th of May, the dead man's widow, Helen Orme, appeared before the Kirk Session, and craved "that seeing Thomas Peebles had murdered her husband, and was fugitive, that they would proceed against him with the sentence of excommunication. The Session thinks him worthy to be excommunicated, but referred the form to the determination of the Presbytery." The Presbytery, it is believed, did not proceed by excommunication against the fugitive, as the King was opposed to the ecclesiastical process being directed in civil cases. Moreover, Thomas Peebles did not long make good his escape. He was apprehended and brought to Perth, where he was tried for his crime, and sentenced to death. The sentence was carried into effect at the Cross of Perth, on 30th May,—as stated in the local *Chronicle*—"The execution of Thomas Peebles for the slaughter of the said unquhil Henry, on Tuesday, the penult of May, 1598, at the market-cross."

James Adamson, younger brother of the Archbishop and Henry, was elected, as we have said, Third Bailie at Michaelmas, 1597. He was engaged in business as a merchant in the town, and was one of the principal burgesses. On the confirmation by Parliament of the Hospital Charter, in July, 1587, James Adamson, merchant, was one of the "well-affected men and worthy of memory, who, of their own accord, upon their own expenses, by contributing

among themselves, being ten in number (ilk person thirty-two merks money,—extending to the sum of £213 6s 8d),”—defrayed the outlay incurred in obtaining “the new Gift of the Hospitality.” James Adamson had married Margaret Anderson, sister of the Laird of Tullylum, Henry Anderson, who was likewise a Perth merchant. Two sons, John and Henry, came of this marriage. John was born in 1576. Henry was baptised on 1st November, 1581, by Mr Patrick Galloway, Minister of Perth, when the witnesses to the ceremony, or godfathers, were Oliver Peebles and William Fleming. The father, James Adamson, obtained his first seat in the Magistracy of Perth at Michaelmas, 1590, when he was elected Second Bailie. In 1592, he was made Third Bailie: in 1594-95-96 he was chosen Treasurer; and in 1597 he was again elected as Third Bailie. The vacancy in the Dean of Guildship caused by the murder of his brother in April, 1598, was not filled up till the ensuing Michaelmas, when James was chosen to fill it; and he was re-elected to the same office both in 1599 and 1600. Thus, he was Dean of Guild at the time of the Gowrie Conspiracy. In the following September, the King commanded the Magistrates of Perth to examine upon oath such of the inhabitants as had shewn themselves “busy” in the commotion around Gowrie House after the Earl and his brother were slain. By virtue of this order, 355 citizens were sworn and interrogated by the Magistrates, who sat in the “New Kirk,” or West Church, and the whole depositions were subsequently reported to the Privy Council. Amongst the first persons who deponed were most of the examiners, the Magistrates, themselves: and the following was the statement of Dean of Guild Adamson:—

James Adamson deponed that being in his ain close gauging ane salmon-barrel, to mak ane measure to other barrels, John Tenendy’s wife, Officer, knocked very loudly at his yett, crying, “Alas, there is mony weapons about the King’s house: and they say the King is shot.” Wha, at the hearing thereof, came suddenly forth, where he saw Andrew Ray, Bailie, crying, “Fy! treason! Come and relieve the King!” And immediately steppit down fore-

nent the lodging ; where, how soon he come, saw the Duke and the Earl of Mar declaring the King was well, and desiring all men to depart to their houses. Whereat, and after he had seen the King's hand put out at the window, he incontinent departed home. *Ignorat cetera.*

The Dean's brother-in-law, the Laird of Tullylum, was also examined:—

Mr Henry Anderson deponed, he saw ane fellow, bearing ane single roof-spar on his shoulder, coming forenent the fore-yett of the lodging therewith: could not discern wha bore the same, for the tumult, and being occupied, hearing the Bailies cry for his Majesty's health and will: and immediately thereafter departed. *Ignorat cetera.* [Another witness said that the man with the spar on his shoulder was Patrick Lamb, sawster, who came through the Watergate.]

Oliver Peebles, although not in the magistracy at this time, was a member of the Town Council; but he was not examined at all. He had a son, Alexander,—perhaps the same Alexander Peebles, burgess of Perth, residing opposite Gowrie House, who gave evidence before the Magistrates and also on the Summons of Treason against the Gowries. Alexander's deposition as a witness on the Summons was as follows:—

Alexander Peebles, burgess of Perth, of the age of thirty years or thereby, married, depones—The day libelled, this deponer being within his ain house, forenent the Earl of Gowrie's lodging, how soon his mother heard the common bell ring, she locked the door and held him in all the time: and saw at that time the Earl of Gowrie enter in at the yett, with twa drawn swords, ane in ilk hand: and ane lacquey put ane steel-bonnet on his head. And ane certain space thereafter the deponer saw Hugh Moncrieff come forth of the place, with ane bloody head, and Patrick Eviot's man, likewise bleeding. And also, saw Patrick Eviot come forth of the yett; but remembers not gif he had ane sword in his hand. And saw Alexander Ruthven also come forth, with ane sword drawn in his hand.

The deposition before the Magistrates was this:—

Alexander Peebles deponed, that during all the time of the tumult, he was locked in his ain house, and looking out at the window. Heard Thomas Bisset crying up to the round [the turret], "Is my Lord of Gowrie alive? Gif he be not alive, he should have amends of all that was therein." And James Bower cried up the like speeches. Would not depart, till they saw my Lord of Gowrie; and ane of them twa cried up, "Green-coats! we shall have amends of you!" Wagging their hands up, saying, "Ye

shall pay for it!" Heard Thomas Elder in Balbuchtie cry up for "ane sight of the Earl of Gowrie!" Heard Robert Taylor cry, "Traitors and thieves, that has slain the Earl of Gowrie!" Saw John Rintoul, Thomas Bisset, and others of the Earl's servants, stand in the entry of the fore-yett, with swords in their hands, and would not come fra it. Saw ane of the Earl of Gowrie's lacqueys, at the entry of the yett, put ane steel-bonnet on the Earl's head. Heard Violet Ruthven and other women cry, "Traitors! Thieves! the Earl of Gowrie had anew to tak meat and drink fra him, but has nane to revenge his death!" *Ignorat cetera.*

But the Conspiracy brought Oliver Peebles to grief. Probably, like many others, he was a disbeliever of it, and expressed his opinion. The former suspicion regarding the Raid of Ruthven would be remembered against him; and all along he had been a friend of the Gowrie family. On the 28th September, the King, then at Brechin, wrote to the Town Council of Perth that "we are nowise minded that ye shall be altered at the time of your election approaching, and therefore have thought good to will and desire you with sic of your neighbours, as has vote in election of Magistrates, within our said burgh, to continue you, and every ane of you, in your particular offices within the same without alteration or change." The council assembling on 6th October, heard the royal missive read, "and therefore continues the present Provost, Bailies, and Council, for the year to come, and because of the ill parts of Oliver Peebles, and of Andrew Henderson [Gowrie's Chamberlain], who is registrat at the horn and summoned for treason, the Council by moniest votes has elected Andrew Arnot and Gavin Dalziell to be in their place for filling up the council." For ought we know, Oliver Peebles never returned to the Council: certainly he was never again a Magistrate. But his son, Alexander, was elected Second Bailie in 1616, 1617, 1624, and 1625; Dean of Guild in 1627; and Provost in 1628, 1629, 1636, 1637, and 1638.

James Adamson became Second Bailie in 1603; and Dean of Guild in 1604, 1605, 1606, and 1608. At Michaelmas, 1609, a letter from the King was produced in the Town Council, narrating an act of Parliament

which discharged any person to bear office in burghs except trading merchants and tradesmen residing in the burghs, under the pain of treason : in pursuance of which Statute, David, Lord Scone, who had been Provost since 1601, retired, and James Adamson was made Provost. He was re-elected to the same dignity in 1610 and 1611.

Provost Adamson's two sons, John and Henry, received a liberal education, both being designed for the ministerial profession, which, however, was ultimately adopted by John alone. John, who took the degree of Master of Arts, in 1597, was appointed minister of Libberton, near Edinburgh. He was distinguished by superior intellect, and discharged the duties of his sacred calling with zeal and assiduity. He was favourably known as a Latin poet : he collected and published the tributary verses addressed to King James during his State progress in Scotland in 1617 : and he is said to have also collected and published, in 1620, the fugitive Latin poems of the celebrated Andrew Melville. On 21st November, 1623, Mr Adamson was elected Principal of the University of Edinburgh, when he was removed to a pastoral charge in the capital, as colleague to Mr Andrew Murray of the Greyfriars.

The Principal's career was a successful one; but his brother seems to have stopped short in the work of preparation for the Church. Henry never became a minister—perhaps on account of feeble health, or from some change in his prospects. His academical training, however, was not thrown away. His scholastic attainments ranked high : and he was endowed with an ample share of the poetic genius of his family. His paternal uncle, the Archbishop, had been a poet : his maternal uncle, the Laird of Tullylum, was a poet : and so was his brother. At no after period has Perth been able to boast of such another family of poets; and indeed until the era of the Morisons, with their great publishing enterprise, the only literary lustre of the Fair City was due to the classical pursuits and the genius of the Adamsons. Their relative Henry Anderson, of Tully-

lum, was a man of learning and a son of the Muses. He had studied at College, and gained the degree of Master of A'ts. He went to Italy, and spent some years at the University of Padua, laying up additional stores of knowledge. When he returned home to the banks of Tay, he began active life as a merchant in Perth. He was chosen Third Bailie in 1611, and First Bailie in 1612. He likewise became a member of the Kirk-Session. At the Royal visit to Perth in 1617, several Latin congratulatory poems were spoken before King James,—one of which was composed by Henry Anderson, and another by his nephew, Henry Adamson. The talents of uncle and nephew were fully appreciated by their fellow-citizens; and doubtless by this time the younger Henry was meditating that poetical retrospect of the history and antiquities of his birth-place, which forms the enduring monument of his fame.

“Though lost to sight, to memory dear.” We began with the “Saog School,” and though for some considerable space it has seemed forgotten, yet it was not so, and now we resume the original thread of our discourse.

In the spring of 1617, a new “Uptaker of the Psalms” was needed, in room of Mr Thomas Garvy, who, through infirmity, was neither “apt nor able” for his duties, and had for a lengthened time previous been obliged to avail himself of the services of a substitute. That substitute was Mr Henry Adamson, the poet, who, besides his other accomplishments, had cultivated the study of music, and possessed good vocal powers. Henry had every reason to expect the succession to the office of Master, whenever it should become vacant; and, in accordance with his expectations, the Kirk Session, on 3rd March, expressed their opinion that a new musician be appointed, and desired the concurrence of the Town Council. A joint meeting of Session and Council took place on 24th March, which was attended by Mr John Malcolm and Mr John Guthry, ministers; Alexander Peebles, Bailie; James Adamson, Mr Henry Anderson, Patrick Grant, Andrew Brown, surgeon,

David Sibbald, and John Boag, elders: when it was resolved that "forsameikle as Mr Thomas Garvy, musician, this long time bygone has not been apt nor able to discharge his office in taking up the Psalms in the Kirk at preaching and prayers, whose place Mr Henry Adamson has supplied, and is very well thought of by the Session, whom they request to continue therein, till further deliberation be taken thereanent." This was the first step in his promotion. But in a few weeks, his brother, the minister of Libberton, wrote to him, holding out hopes of some profitable employment in another place. Henry was now in his thirty-sixth year, and as yet he had apparently no prospect of permanent provision for himself, except such as he might look for from his father, who perhaps was not a wealthy man. After considering his brother's proposals, Henry mentioned to the Session that, unless he were appointed as Musician or Precentor, he should be necessitated to leave the town, and seek his fortune elsewhere. The patrons were unwilling to part with him. Another meeting was convened on 12th May, at which two of the Bailies were present with the Session, and a resolution was adopted recommendatory of the office being conferred on the poet:—

Forsameikle as Mr Henry Adamson having meaned him self to the Session that he has supplied the place of Mr Thomas Garvy in taking up the Psalms a long time bygone; and that Mr John Adamson, his brother, has written for him for some matter tending to his behoof; and therefore desires the Session either to appoint him to the said cure, seeing that the said Thomas Garvy is not able therefor, and that otherwise he will not serve longer in his stead. And the Session, finding the said Mr Henry's proposition reasonable, and he qualified to serve the said cure, for their part are willing he be provided thereto; and have requested John Anderson and William Williamson; Bailies, to expone the same to the Council, wherethrough the said Mr Henry may be orderly placed in the said service both by Council and Session.

Mr Henry's election was thus as good as settled.*

* Perth Kirk Session Books; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i., part 2d, p. 132, vol. ii., pp. 191, 199; *Chronicle of Perth*; Cant's edition of *The Muses Threnodie*; Bower's *History of the University of Edinburgh*.

*THE "SANG SCHOOL" OF PERTH AND
ITS MASTERS. —Part 3rd.*

The sum of all that makes a just man happy
Consists in the well-choosing of his wife;
And there, well to discharge it, does require
Equality of years, of birth, of fortune.

Massinger.

No time was lost in regard to Henry Adamson's formal appointment. A meeting of Session was held on 19th May, 1617, when John Anderson and William Williamson, Bailies, and Constantine Melice, "Moderator of the Town Council," having reported that the Council had "concluded to admit Mr Henry Adamson to the office and service whilk Mr Thomas Garvy had in taking up the Psalms, and to hold an Music School, and had made their Act thereupon," the Kirk Session "agreeing thereto, have admitted and admits the said Mr Henry Adamson to the said offices." The salary attachable had still to be fixed; and on 26th May, another sederunt took place, when, "in respect of the literature and qualifications of Mr Henry Adamson for taking up the Psalms at preaching and prayers at the Kirk of Perth, and his lawful admission thereto, and to hold a Music School, the Session provides and ordains him to have yearly from Whitsunday next, in name of his stipend, the sum of two hundred merks money of this realm, to be paid by the Masters of the Hospital, present and to come, yearly, at two terms in the year, Whitsunday and Martinmas, by equal portions." The poet was thus fully installed. Near the end of the year,—on 25th November,—the Session directed "the Masters of Hospital to repair the windows of the Sang School with glass and brodds," so as to protect the classes from the biting cold and the stormy blasts of winter.

But there was still another office connected with the Kirk of Perth which fell to the poet. This was the

Readership. After the Reformation, persons were appointed over the country to read, in the churches, portions of Scripture and Prayers out of Knox's *Book of Common Order*, on the Sundays, before the regular public worship began,—the masses of the population being unable to read themselves; and in towns, as in Perth, people assembled in the churches daily, morning and evening, before and after work, to hear the Reader. In those churches—and for a while they were not few—which had no settled clergymen, there was no other religious service on Sundays but that of the Readers, many of whom, being men of education and worth, eventually received ministerial ordination, and obtained parochial charges. During the time of Mr John Row, the first Reformed Minister of Perth, the Reader in St John's Church was John Edmestoun, and he had a salary of £20. The General Assembly of 1581 superseded the office of Reader; but it seems, however, to have been re-instituted to some extent after Episcopacy became fully established: at least, we find it reappearing in the Church of Perth. Thus, we have seen that, in 1617, Thomas Garvy was Uptaker of the Psalms; and we now come to an entry in the Town Council books, of date 23d March, 1618, recording the nomination of "Mr Henry Adamson, son of James Adamson, to be *Reader*, in the room of Mr John Fyfe, and also to the *Sang School*, in like manner vacant, during will." John Fyfe, like Thomas Garvy, appears to have become incapacitated for his duties; and the Kirk Session, meeting on 16th May, "for their part admits Mr Henry Adamson to the office of Readership," and further, "upon Mr John Fyffe's supplication, grants to give him some acknowledgment to declare their good will for his service, besides his fee." The installation of Henry was speedily arranged. The Session met on 25th May (the members present being the Ministers, Mr John Malcolm and Mr John Guthry; James Adamson, David Sibbald, and Andrew Brown, merchant, Elders), and "all in one voice have concluded that Mr Henry Adamson be entered by the ministers to the

lettron and to the office of the Readership at the evening prayers, to continue in serving the cure thereof, and to have a stipend therefor yearly so long as he remains Reader and discharges the duties thereof, according as the Council and Session convened together in the Revestry this day afternoon has concluded upon, set down in the books of the acts of Council of this burgh, whereunto thir presents are relative."

The celebrated General Assembly which passed the "Five Articles of Perth" commenced its sittings in that city on Tuesday, 25th August, 1618, under the Moderatorship of Archbishop Spottiswoode; and the Royal Commissioners were Lords Binning, Scone, and Carnegie. To this Assembly the burghs, of course, deputed Commissioners, and among those chosen on 10th August to represent the town of Perth was the poet's father, James Adamson. When the Five Articles were put to the vote, all the representatives of the burghs, without a single exception, supported them: and at the ratification of the Articles in the Parliament of 1621, the Commissioner for Perth, Adam Gray, voted in their favour.

Early next year, the poet's brother, the minister of Libberton, having fallen ill, Henry desired to pay him a visit; but before doing so, it was requisite that he should obtain leave from his patrons. He petitioned the Town Council, and that body, on 1st February, 1619, granted "license to Mr Henry Adamson, Reader, for six days, to visit his brother, Mr John Adamson, then sick in Edinburgh." Happily Mr John recovered from his indisposition, and was long spared to the Church, of which he became a distinguished ornament.

In the beginning of 1620,—which was a marked year in Henry Adamson's life,—the Town Council were straitened for funds to meet their liabilities, and on 21st February, they resolved "to borrow money to pay the Ministers' and Mr Henry Adamson's stipends." Doubtless the loan would be effected and the stipends duly paid. But what made 1620 a marked year to the poet was that, before it closed he took unto himself a

wife. He had now reached the mature age of 39, when the wayward fancies of youth are tempered by experience; and we may reasonably conclude that his worldly circumstances and prospects were such as to justify him in taking upon himself the responsibilities of matrimony. The marriage was solemnized in December,—the Kirk-Session Register recording the ceremony thus:—"1620, December 9. This day Mr Henry Adamson and Katharine Buchannan accomplished their marriage." Who was Katharine Buchanan? Her father's name is not given in the book, but it is stated on her gravestone in the Greyfriars Burying-Ground of Perth as "Mr William Buchanan," and the heraldic escutcheon of the Buchanan family adorns the stone. The prefix or title *Mr* or *Magister*, indicates a minister, or a member of another learned profession, or a Master of Arts. We have not succeeded in identifying this Mr William Buchanan; but assuming him to have been a clergyman, we may point to the facts that a minister of the name and surname held the Provostry of Methven about the beginning of the seventeenth century, and that he had a daughter named Catherine. He is thus noticed in Scott's *Fasti*:—"William Buchanan, A.M., laureated at Glasgow, 1592; Minister of Fowlis-Wester, 1593: translated to Methven between 16 October, 1603, and 1607: died 15 December, 1614, aged about 42. He married Marion Lyell, and had a daughter, Catherine." Mr Buchanan would seem to have been related to Sir John Buchanan, who before his knighthood, and after being "sometime servant to his Majesty," was implicated "for his interest" in a criminal prosecution which was instituted against his wife, Margaret Hertsyde, one of the attendants of Queen Anne, for abstracting pearls and jewels belonging to her royal mistress. The story of this case is curious, and will repay perusal.

Margaret, after being imprisoned for a considerable space, was brought before the Court of Justiciary, at Linlithgow, on 31st May, 1608. The indictment

charged her with having, during the time of her service in the Royal Household from 1603 to 1607, stolen and detained from the Queen "ane pearl of the value and price of £110 sterling, pertaining to her Majesty, together with divers other pearls, precious stones, jewels and goldsmith work, likewise pertaining to his Majesty's dearest spouse, worth the sum of £300 sterling:" and it was also alleged that the panel had confessed the stealing and selling of said valuables. This was the substance of the accusation; but it had been trumped up to punish her for disclosing certain Court intrigues. "The courtiers talked," says Sir James Balfour, "that it was for revealing some of the Queen's secrets to the King, which a wise chambermaid would not have done." Whatever it was for, the Queen herself was opposed to the prosecution; but the King was bent upon it, and his will was absolute. Margaret was placed at the bar; and amongst the "Prelocutors" who appeared for her in defence were Mr Robert Buchanan, minister at the Kirk of Ceres, and Mr William Buchanan, minister at Methven. She revoked the alleged confession, and her counsel proposed lengthened objections to the relevancy of the libel, and argued their pleas with much learning and acumen. They contended that "this dittay cannot be put to an assize, because of the law, ane servant of credit having the custody of his Majesty's gudes, being willing to render an account of his intromission, never having committed any violent deed, cannot be accused of theft, the intromission, fra the beginning, being lawful: but true it is that Margaret Hertsyde, as is confessed in the libel, both the years libelled, and divers years of before, was, like as she is presently, her Majesty's servant undischarged, with credit, and willing to give account of her intromissions, never having committed any violent deed:" farther, the first-mentioned pearl was sold by her "to George Heriot, her Majesty's principal Jeweller, and if there had been an intention of theft in the panel's mind, it cannot be presumed that she would have sold the same to the

Jeweller, whom she knew would shew the same again to her Majesty, but by the space of divers years thereafter remained in her Majesty's service in great favour and credit." All the objections, however, were overruled by the Court; and the issue of the trial was that the jury found "the said Margaret Hertsyde to be fyled, culpable, and convict of the unlawful and undutiful substracting and detaining" from the Queen, the pearl valued at £150 sterling, and the other pearls, &c.; but, by a majority, found the panel "to be clenged of the stealing of the said pearl, together with the remanent pearls, precious stones, jewels, and goldsmith work foresaid." Sentence was not pronounced till 10th August, when a letter from the King, dated at Theobalds, 20th July, and addressed to the Justice-General, was read, setting forth "that howsoever the assize acquit her [the panel] of the crime of theft, yet we most conclude that she has dealt so dishonestly herein as we account her as worthy to be repute and declared infamous (like as it is our pleasure that ye declare her to be so), as gif she had been directly convict of theft: that she shall repay the full value of the pearl, &c., and remain in the Castle of Blackness until she give security for the payment:" and that finally she should be banished to the Orkney Islands. Certainly we have here a pretty sample of how justice was dispensed by the British Solomon, whose word was to be held as superior to the verdict of a jury. The submissive Court accordingly declared Margaret infamous; decerned her to pay the sum of £400 sterling, or £4800 Scots, as the liquidate value of the jewels; and that she should be "confined to the Isles of Orkney, therein to remain, and not exceed the bounds thereof, induring her lifetime." John Dalzell, burgess of Edinburgh, became her caution and surety for payment of the money within fifteen days, and also that she should banish herself in Orkney within forty days. The sentence of exile, we presume, was carried out to some extent; but Margaret lived to see a better day. Justice, though tardy, made amends at last. The

banished woman's husband regained the royal favour, and became Sir John Buchanan; and King James issued a missive from Royston, on 15th November, 1619, addressed to the Justice-General of Scotland, stating that "whereas our trusty and loyal servitrix, Margaret Heartsyde, the spouse of Sir John Buchanan, knight, was, by the sinisterous information of certain her unfriends for the time, pursued criminally before you; and being put to an assize, was acquit and assoilzied of that special point of her indictment, which of the law sustained the same to be relevant to be tried and cognosced, and only was found guilty of certain adminicles insert in her dittay for qualification of her alleged crime:" and that the "doom and sentence being maist humbly, and with great patience and modesty, embraced and underlien by her, and her behaviour continually sinsyne being very dutiful; therefore, and that the foresaid doom given out against her may not be a precedent, nor have force hereafter, it is our gracious will and pleasure that the foresaid declaration of the said Margaret Heartsyde to be *infamous*, insert in her process, be halden as delete furth thereof, and in noways to be extracted or given to ony person or persons, in time coming, but that this our Warrant and Declaration be insert in our Registers of Adjournal, for reponing of her to her fame, against the same sentence." We have entered thus minutely into the case of these Buchanans, because we conceive there is a strong probability that Adamson the poet's wife was a relative of theirs as daughter of Mr William Buchanan, Provost of Methven; but, of course, the supposition respecting her parentage is offered only for what it is worth.

Henry Adamson's stipend was not paid him with much regularity; for, we read that on 28th May, 1622, the Kirk Session ordained that "he be answered of his stipend appointed to him, both of Council and Sesion, of all years and terms bygone resting unpaid to him," inclusive of the Whitsunday term: and on 13th June thereafter they ordained him to be paid "twenty shillings four pennies, for the inlack of gold whilk he

received from the Master of the Hospital for his fee." The following year, 1623, was dark and unfortunate for the poet. In the summer he had a quarrel with one of the townsmen, who held out something like a threat of personal violence, which veiled menace was scarcely to be despised by the nephew of the Dean of Guild who had been murdered on the street. Complaint was made to the Session: and on 3d July, Thomas Wilson was accused before that court "for dispersing of Mr Henry Adamson, Reader, 'that if he were not in the place of a Reader he would thrav his nose,' with other contemptible speeches. The said Thomas replied, that the said Henry began first to blaspheme him, and to call him 'deboished dyvour' [a debauched bankrupt], which he would take in hand to prove by Walter Balneaves and John Blosson. The Session think it expedient the parties be reconciled, and because the said Thomas' offence is thought to be greatest, the Session ordain the said Thomas to crave the said Mr Henry's pardon, which he did, and they took each other by the hand." In this sensible way the strife was hushed up. But it was not this affair which rendered the year a gloomy one to the poet. Dearth and epidemical sickness afflicted the town for months, and a number of the chief citizens were carried off, amongst whom were Henry's father and his uncle, the Laird of Tullylum. It is related in the *Chronicle of Perth* that there "died within sixteen weeks, *James Adamson*, wha was Provost [in 1611]; *Mr Henry Anderson*, wha was Bailie [in 1612]; David Sibbald, William Williamson, James Bannevis, wha had been Bailies; Andrew Anderson, wha was Bailie that same year. There was this harvest time ane great mortality and dearth that x or xij died ordinarily every day, from Midsummer to Michaelmas, within this burgh;" and "Henry Elder, clerk, departed this life," in the beginning of October. The loss of his aged father and his uncle must have been heavily felt by Henry; and it is not improbable that Provost Adamson left little means behind him. But the year did not close without a ray of good fortune being shed on the

Adamsons; for in November, Mr John, the minister of Libberton, was appointed Principal of the University of Edinburgh.

It might be that the sorrows of this year conduced to postpone indefinitely the publication of a lengthy loco-descriptive and historical poem, upon which Henry Adamson had exerted his fully-ripened powers. It was a work embodying sketches of his native city, its antiquities, and its environs, and all the more salient passages in its annals, while also forming a memorial of the finest feelings of regret for the untimely fate of a beloved friend and bosom companion. The story of its origin must now be told. With two citizens of Perth, whose tastes and habits were congenial to his own, our poet had contracted the closest intimacy. These were Mr George Ruthven, the physician, and Mr John Gall, son of John Gall, merchant. George Ruthven was a scion of the Gowrie family, and is supposed to have been a son of Patrick, third Lord Ruthven, who fought the Battle of the Bridge of Tay. His birth was in 1546. He practised in Perth as a physician, and his residence, about the time of Provost Adamson's death, was in the neighbourhood of St John's Church; for the Session Book records that on 28th September, 1624, "Twelve shillings were given to Mr George Ruthven, bestowed by him on the mouth of the Kirk Vennel, where he dwells, for setting up stones therein to stay horses with sledds to pass therethrough." Although a connection of the Ruthvens, he was not brought to any trouble concerning the Gowrie Conspiracy, and his name does not even occur in the lists of persons who were examined. He was a man of great study and varied acquirements, and maintained, during a long life, high eminence in his profession. He also distinguished himself by collecting a cabinet of specimens of natural history, together with such archæological relics as came in his way; which curiosities he designated as *Gabions*—a word of his own coining, and not to be found in any dictionary with such an application. The other confrere, Mr John Gall, was youthful. His father,

John Gaw, merchant, was examined about the Gowrie Conspiracy, and deponed that he came to the scene of the uproar "at the sound of the bell, but tarried not ane malmond of ane hour." Young John, it is said, was "well educated, of sweet dispositions, and pregnant wit, and much esteemed" — he was "handsome, facetious, and learned." But unhappily his constitution was deeply tainted with consumption, which, despite all efforts of human skill, brought him to the grave in the flower of his days. The learned trio—Ruthven, Adamson, and Gall—devoted to literary studies, and bound by no common bond of union, were inseparable in their companionship,—the wisdom of the hoary physician moderating and harmonizing with the buoyant sallies and speculations of the less-experienced spirits. The history of the Fair City was often discussed; and well qualified was old Ruthven to illustrate it, partly from his own reminiscences; for he had seen the last days of the Romish domination, and had witnessed the storm evoked by Knox, and had heard earlier events recounted by actors in them, and was full of traditions now perchance fading from the firesides. The friends spent long summer days in desultory rambles over the romantic vicinage of the town,—or boating up and down the Tay,—now practising archery at the butts in the South Inch,—now angling for salmon,—or searching for pearls in the river. The poetic talents of Adamson were duly appreciated in this society, and doubtless he was often urged to undertake some work which might become (as we have said) an enduring monument of his fame. At one time, in a jocund and playful mood, he threw together a droll "Inventory of the Gabions" or objects of interest in Mr George's cabinet: and we can fancy the shouts of laughter with which its reading would be received. The measure of this poem is the same as that which Butler afterwards made famous by his *Hudibras*: and the opening is this:—

Of uncouth forms, and wondrous shapes,
Like peacocks, and like Indian apes;

Like leopards, and beasts spotted,
 Of clubs curiously knotted ;
 Of wondrous workmanships and rare,
 Like eagles flying in the air ;
 Like Centaurs, Mermaids in the seas ;
 Like dolphins, and like honey-bees ;
 Some carved in timber, some in stone,
 Of the wonder of Albion ;
 Which this close cabin doth include,
 Some portends ill, some presage good,

Next comes an enumeration of the gifts which the gods and heroes of mythic antiquity had bestowed to enrich the museum — Neptune's "awful trident," Triton's "trumpet of a buckie," Mar's "glistening sword and dagger," Hector's "weighty spear," Ajax's "fatal sword and sevenfold shield," Apollo's "mighty sounding silver bow," and so forth : these being followed by a comical *disjecta membra* of humbler things : and the piece winds up with exalted commendation of the worthy old Doctor's repository :—

This is his storehouse and his treasure,
 This is his paradise of pleasure.
 This is the arsenal of gods,
 Of all the world this is the odds :
 This is the place Apollo chooses,
 This is the residence of Muses :
 And to conclude all this in one,
 'This is the Roman Pantheon !

It is very evident, we think, that the idea of composing a metrical history of his birthplace had been long simmering in the brain of Henry Adamson. He and his two friends took a profound interest in the antiquities of the city, and must have felt the want of some chronicle, however bald, of those events which the Fair City had witnessed throughout so many ages. There was no such thing as a local history, though abundant materials for it existed. Adamson's poetic genius was of no great power, but it nevertheless seemed well adapted for a task requiring facility of versification in narrative, without much play of fancy : and, as we say, he must often have contemplated such an undertaking, knowing that it would certainly bring him lasting applause, and probably a much more substantial reward,

He was at last decided by a distressing circumstance—the death of John Gall.*

* Perth Kirk Session Books; Perth Town Council Books; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii., pp. 544-557; Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 26; Morris' *Provosts of Methven*, p. 6; Scott's *History of the Life and Death of John, Earl of Gowrie*, p. 83; Cant's edition of *The Muses Threnodie*; Rev. Dr Hew Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*,

*THE "SANG SCHOOL" OF PERTH AND
ITS MASTERS.—Part 4th.*

Let none offend, tho' in mine age I sing,
Swanlike, some lawful joys youthead did bring :
My songs are mournings, which may clearly shew
Th' inconstant course of all things here below.

The Muses Threnodie.

"WHOM the gods love die young." John Gall died young—of that insidious malady, consumption, the advances of which had baffled all the Esculapian skill of old George Ruthven. Naturally, Henry Adamson desired to perpetuate his companion's memory by some worthy poetical tribute which should be more lasting than monumental marble: and after due cogitation, and doubtless many consultations with Ruthven, the poet's ideas took shape in a fashion eminently original and well calculated to ensure the purpose aimed at. As a love of antiquities had been the prominent bond that united the three friends, Adamson planned to combine a monody for the dear departed with a sketch of the history of the city of Perth. This he accomplished in an animated and pleasing series of imaginary dialogues between Ruthven and Gall, as related by the former in affectionate remembrance, while the real author kept himself wholly behind the scenes, thereby doing the more honour to the erudition of the two interlocutors. Ruthven, bemoaning the untimely fate of his youthful associate, recalls the many occasions on which they roamed together about the neighbourhood of the town, and descanted on the various places and objects of interest in the course of their rambles, giving a disjointed but withal tolerably ample resume of the more notable events of which the locality had been the theatre. It needs not that we farther analyse the scope and purport of a work so familiarly known. Adamson laboured on it *con amore*, not displaying much genius, but producing a clear, popular, and evenly-sustained

narrative, enlivened with occasional strokes of homely humour. The work was called *The Muses Threnodie; or, Mirthful Mournings on the Death of Mr Gall*, and was described in the poem as

Of Mr George Ruthven the tears and mournings,
Amidst the giddy course of Fortune's turnings,
Upon his dear friend's death, Mr John Gall,
Where his rare ornaments bear a part, and wretched
Gabions all.

It is said that the piece when shewn about among the author's acquaintances was highly applauded, and he was earnestly urged to commit it to the press; but this he long delayed to do—partly, we may conjecture, from a wish to revise his verses thoroughly and render them as worthy as possible of public acceptance, and partly from personal or domestic considerations. Sometime after the death of his father and uncle, he had the misfortune to lose his wife. Apparently there was no child of their marriage, and Henry was left a solitary widower. The remains of his deceased partner were laid in the Greyfriars Burying-ground, and a memorial-stone placed over her grave. The stone still exists,—leaning against the south boundary wall of the cemetery; but whether it has been removed from its original place or not, we cannot say. The sculpture is well executed; but the inscription is somewhat defaced, though the main portion of it can be distinctly read:—

Heir Lyeth Katharin Bvchanan, Dawghter to M. William
Bvchanan and Spowse to M. Henry Adamsons. Obiit
10 Novemb. Hora. Vesp.

The year of Katharin's death is obliterated from the stone. The above inscription is carried along the three edges: and the centre is filled with the coats-armorial of the spouses: first, the Adamson arms—a shield charged with a star betwixt two cross-crosslets, and a cross moline beneath, distinguished by the initials M.H.A.: and next a shield displaying the Buchanan cognizance, a lion rampant sable, within a double tressure flowered and counterflowered, and flanked by the initials K.B.

We may thus conceive how domestic bereavement

and other troubles of life, which a poetical temperament was ill adapted to sustain, conduced to deaden in Henry's breast the honest thirst for fame, and to impede and defer from year to year every scheme for publication of the poem, on which he had expended so much curious learning. His health, too, began to fail: in truth, his day was drawing fast to the evening; but now the importunities of his friends increased, and yielding to their persuasion, he applied himself to give the finishing touches to the *Threnodie*, and prepare it finally for the press. His brother, the Principal, seems to have undertaken the duty of superintending the printing of the book in Edinburgh. Accordingly Henry—perchance cheered, under his ailments, by day-dreams of better days in store, when he should be assigned an honourable place on the Scottish Parnassus—proceeded with his task to an end. He prefixed a metrical Introduction to the poem, in which he speaks as though his circumstances were not prosperous—a condition too common among the rhyming race. Alluding to the unequal apportionment of Fortune's gifts and favours in this world, he says:—

Hence, solitary and poor, content I live,
 Since better hap blind Fortune doth not give;
 And, like Diogenes, contemplate all,
 Within my cabin, that doth here befall;
 Which gives me subject both to sing and mourn
 The times o'erpast, which never shall return.

He also complains that some envious and malevolent persons had been spreading abroad sinister insinuations tending to damage the prospects of the publication.

Scarce were these lines as yet come to the birth,
 When some false flattering sycophant gave forth
 Most foul aspersions, making rumours spread,
 That citing of some ancient stories bred
 No small disgrace unto the present times,
 Places and persons of most ancient stems,
 And that I write of purpose to attain them;
 I wish of this their wrong it might repent them.
 For as the contrare's true, so I protest
 I never had a purpose to infest
 The meanest, far less those of better sort,
 Where birth and grace do make a sweet consort.
 Yea, more, I do protest, against my will
 These lines were reft from under my rude quill.

I never did intend so great a height,
 That they should touch the press or come to light;
 But now, sith more there is than my design,
 I forced am my just defence to bring
 'Gainst my traducers, who maliciously
 With baneful Envy's tooth have snatch'd at me.

But I appeal to all judicious learning,
 Whose wits are exercised in discerning;
 If I your approbation do find,
 I care not these Ardelio's catching wind.
 No other patrons do I seek but you,
 To take of this small piece a little view,
 And give just censure join'd with your protection,
 More worth than Zoilus' hate Gnatho's affection;
 Your favours shall me shelter and defend
 Against all envy's rage, to live to end;
 Trusting in God to keep my conscience pure,
 Whose favour most of all shall me secure.

The alleged glancing at "present times" must have referred to the affair of the Gowrie Conspiracy; for George Ruthven was still alive, in extreme old age, and probably the whisper ran that the ostensible "Mournings for Mr Gall" were disguised mournings for the slain Gowries, intermixed with veiled animadversions on their enemies. But the *Threnodie* was of no such nature: and only envious malignancy could have sought to depreciate and injure the first local poet who had honoured the Fair City by composing its first history. Besides the Introduction, Henry likewise prepared the following Dedication of his work to Perth and its Magistrates and Council:—

To his Native Town of Perth, the Lord-Provost, Bailies,
 and Council thereof; his worthy Patrons: wishing them
 all happiness here and hence; Dedicateth these his Recrea-
 tions,

Their devoted Servant,

HENRY ADAMSON,

Student in Divine and Human Learning.

The poet's illness having rendered him incapable of discharging his duties in connection with the Church, a substitute had to be procured; and we find that the Kirk Session met on 16th January, 1637, when the Hospital Master was ordained "to give Mr William Chapman, for his service in the Kirk, in supplying Mr Henry Adamson, Reader, sickly an long time bygone, the sum of twenty pounds; and the Session request the

Council to give him as meikle." There was another meeting on 13th February following: "whilk day, the Session of the Kirk of Perth, in due consideration of the honest and decent behaviour of Mr Henry Adamson, Reader, discharging the duty thereof sufficiently but [without] blame or spot, ever since his admission thereto, and now being visited with sickness—if at the pleasure of God he do not recover his health, as God forbid; in that case, the Session ordains the Masters of the Hospital, present and to come, to contract and pay to the said Mr Henry's executors his fee and stipend addebted by the Session to him, from the term of Martinmas last was, unto the feast and term of Whitsunday next to come, but [without] any exception." This was a generous arrangement, and it indicates that the poet's illness, whatever its complexion, was increasing upon him, and that really slender hopes were entertained of his lingering through the spring. That he did survive the spring is extremely uncertain.

Principal Adamsom, who had charge of the publication of *The Muses Threnodie*, applied to the Town Council of Perth for their subscription to the forthcoming volume; and that body, on 15th May, 1637, granted "an allowance to Mr John Adamson, Primer of the College of Edinburgh, for a work to be published." Meantime, the manuscript of the poem had been submitted to the perusal of the celebrated Scottish poet, Drummond of Hawthornden; and if this was done while Henry still lived, we can fancy with what flutter of expectation the dying poet awaited the critical verdict of so great a genius. Hawthornden's opinion, very favourable and flattering, was communicated in the following letter:—

To my worthy friend, Mr Henry Adamson.

Sir,

These papers of your mournings on Mr Gall appear unto me as Alcibiadis Sileni, which ridiculously look with the faces of Sphinges, Chimæras, Centaurs, on the outsides, but inwardly contain rare artifice, and rich jewels of all sorts, for the delight and weal of man. They may deservedly bear the word *non intus ut extra*. Your two champions, noble zanys, discover to us many of

the antiquities of this country, more of your ancient town of Perth, setting down her situation, founders, her huge colosse or bridge, walls, fosses, aqueducts, fortifications, temples, monasteries, and many other singularities. Happy hath Perth been in such a citizen, not so other towns of this kingdom, by want of so diligent a searcher and preserver of their fame from oblivion. Some Muses, neither to themselves nor to others do good, nor delighting nor instructing. Yours perform both, and longer to conceal them will be to wrong your Perth of her due honours, who deserveth no less of you than that she should be thus blazoned and registrate to posterity, and to defraud yourself of a monument, which, after you have left this transitory world, shall keep your name and memory to after times. This shall be preserved by the town of Perth, for her own sake first, and after for yours; for to her it hath been no little glory that she hath brought forth such a citizen, so eminent in love to her, so dear to the Muses.

W. D.

Edinburgh, 12th July, 1637.

Sad to think that Henry was denied the supreme solace and delight of conning this epistle, the generous tribute of a noble heart! It is believed that before the letter reached Perth his eyes were closed in death,—though there is no record of the assumed fact. He was then in the 56th year of his age. Evidently, however, he was dead in August; for, on the 21st of that month, the Town Council agreed as to “putting a person on trial to read the Psalms in the Parish Kirk.” The Council speedily filled up the vacancy, selecting Robert Laurie, son of one of the two parish ministers of Perth,—Mr Joseph Laurie, who had been admitted as colleague to Mr John Robertson, in January, 1635. In this nomination, the Council acted without the concurrence of the Kirk Session, and proceeded to carry it into effect in the face of the expressed opposition of that Court. The *Chronicle of Perth* records that on 5th September, 1637, “Mr Robert Laurie was admitted Reader and Uptaker of the Psalms, by the Provost, Bailies, and Council, without consent of the Ministers and Elders. Mr John Robertson, Minister, being present, dissented therefra, and departed, and would have had the full consent, not only of the Ministers and Elders, but also of the Archbishop of St Andrews.

George Bisset dissented to his admission as Elder, and after consented as Councillor. Mr Joseph Laurie, his father, compeared not, because his colleague, Mr John, refused, yet willing. Thereafter the Provost, Alexander Peebles, passed with the Council to the latrone, and put Mr Robert in possession of baith the places, and delivered to him the Bible and Psalm-Book in his hands."

While the *Threnodie* was at press, the question of the Dedication was brought before the Town Council. They were asked whether they would accept the same, as in case of their declinature, the book would be dedicated to the Earl of Kinnoull. The Council, on 27th November, 1637, having considered "whether a book called *Gaw's Tears* shall be dedicated to the Council or the Earl of Kinnoull," agreed to accept the Dedication which the poet had penned. The *Muses Threnodie* was "printed at Edinburgh, in King James' College, by George Anderson," and appeared early in 1638. The Minute-book of the Perth Town Council, under date, 12th February, 1638, notes the "production of 30 copies of the *Mirthful Mournings on the Death of Mr John Gall*," which were distributed amongst the members. It may be observed, as somewhat of a coincidence, that Alexander Peebles of Chapelhill, son of Oliver Peebles, was then Provost of the town.

The poem was ushered into the world by the laudatory verses of several contemporary authors, in addition to Hawthornden's letter. One of these effusions was this:—

IN PERTH, ANENT TWO OF HER SONS, HER TWO SUNS, MR
HENRY ANDERSON, AND MR HENRY ADAMSON, HIS
NEPHEW.

Two Henries, like two suns, upon thee rose,
The uncle and the nephew, and did close,
The one a summer, th' other a winter day,
Nor longer could on our horizon stay :
With home-bred beams, the one on thee did shine,
Th' other with rays brought from the coast Lavine.
But herein, these excel fair Phœbus' brother,
He and his beams do rise and set together :
Their rays shine most, themselves when under earth,
And shall perpetual splendour give to Perth :

So be it aye, upon thee, noble town,
May many such Suns rise, and so go down !

J. A.

It is added, in Latin, by a different hand that a third "sun of Perth" was Archbishop Adamson of St Andrews. Another commendatory effusion is worthy of quotation.

TO THE MEMORY OF THE AUTHOR.

Dear soul ! thou hast obtain'd more lasting fame,
In folly's colours wisdom setting forth,
Than if ten fabrics like Mausolus' frame,
Were for thee rear'd in witness of thy worth.
Thy Perth may boast of such a grateful son,
Who thus hath honour'd his dear aged mother;
Thy Muse such glory and such fame hath won
To her, as no oblivion can it smother.
Art, wit, and learning, learning, wit, and art,
Do jointly jostle here, each of them striving
Which carry shall the prize, and bear chief part
In these thy lays, thy native town describing.
Thy George's *Gabions* shew to underlings,
That all things trifles be that heaven not reaches.
By what thy Gall and he, in rapture sings,
Much wisdom, divine and humane, thou teaches.
Thy death the Muses' darlings all shall mourn,
And shall a tomb erect unto thy name,
Of tears turned chrystal, and upon thine urn,
These words shall write as blazon of thy fame—
*Here lies his dust, by whose most learned quill
He and his Perth do live, and shall live still.*

JO. MOORE.

The suggestion of "a tomb" being erected to Adamson's memory was not realized : and the reason of such seeming neglect is not difficult to discover, without attributing it to any indifference on the part of his fellow-townsmen. Shortly after his decease the national troubles began; and the wars of the Covenant occupied men's minds to the exclusion of all lesser considerations. But, indeed, the *Threnodie* itself was monument sufficient to preserve the author's name to succeeding generations; and there can be doubt that it was thoroughly popular in Perth. Old George Ruthven survived the publication of the work in which his reputation as an antiquary and collector was so prominently set forth. At that time he was about 92 years of age : and probably he soon followed his two friends to an honoured grave. In the museum of the Literary and Antiquarian Society

of Perth is still preserved his wainscot arm-chair, with the Ruthven arms carved on the back, and the inscription, "M. G. R. 1588." At the distance of 136 years, the original impression of *The Muses Threnodie* had become so exceedingly rare that a new edition, enriched with ample illustrative notes and documents, by Mr James Cant, was issued at Perth, in 1774, and gave the poem a fresh lease of popularity. During the succeeding half-century, few inhabitants of the Fair City were not conversant with "Gall's Gabions," as it was familiarly but erroneously called; but this edition became scarce in its turn, and is now no longer the household book it once was,—although, however, the poem alone was twice reprinted within the last thirty years.

Respecting the "Sang School" of Perth,—any interest in its history arises from Henry Adamson's connection with it, and ceases with his death. But we may mention that Mr Robert Laurie, the poet's successor, did not long fill the situation. He was Reader when, on Easter Day, of 1638, he read the National Covenant in St John's Church, preparatory to its being sworn to by the assembled people "by uphauling of their hands." His ambition, however, was the ministry, for which he had studied. He was appointed Clerk of the Presbytery of Perth, in November, 1638; and in three years—on 4th August, 1641, he was admitted minister of Perth in room of his father, who had died in July, 1640. Mr Laurie was translated to Edinburgh in 1644; and after the Restoration, he became Bishop of Brechin.

Principal Adamson spent an active life in the service of learning. He published several original works—the chief of which was a Catechetical Method of the Christian Religion, designed for the use of the youth attending Edinburgh University. On 9th August, 1639, he was elected by the Edinburgh magistrates, ministers, and regents, as representative of the College to the General Assembly; and he was again chosen on 4th July, 1640. In the Assembly, which met at Edinburgh on 4th August, 1647, the new metrical version of the Psalms by Rous was brought under considera-

tion, and four persons of suitable ability were appointed to revise it, prior to its adoption by the Church of Scotland :—"Master John Adamson to examine the first forty Psalms, Master Thomas Crawford the second forty, Master John Row the third forty, and Master John Nevey the last thirty Psalms of that Paraphrase; and in their examination they shall not only observe what they think needs to be amended, but also to set down their own essay for correcting thereof": and the Assembly further recommended "that Mr Zachary Boyd be at the pains to translate the other Scriptural Songs in metre": the whole work to be reported to the Commission. The Assembly which met at Edinburgh on 12th July, 1648, ordered Rous's Psalms, with the corrections, to be transmitted to Presbyteries for examination; and "recommends to Master John Adamson and Mr Thomas Crawford to revise the labours of Mr Zachary Boyd upon the other Scriptural Songs, and to prepare a report thereof."

Mr John Adamson has been credited with having composed an "inscription upon Buchanan in the Greyfriars Churchyard" of Edinburgh; but the truth is that there was no monument at all on George Buchanan's grave, and the lines which Adamson wrote indicated this fact. A far more curious connection of the Principal with Buchanan's memory is the circumstance of his having become possessed of a skull which he stated to be that of his great countryman. At the Principal's death this memento was found in his keeping, and transferred to the college. A manuscript catalogue, drawn up, about 1697, by Robert Henderson, A.M., Librarian to Edinburgh University, contains the following entry :—

A very thin skull (said to be Mr George Buchanan's) with a copy of Latin verses affixt, writ by Mr John Adamson, primare prof. of our College 1636. It's storied of him that being at Buchanan's burial, he bargained for the skull; which having got from the graveman within the year or so, he carefully kept in his life-time; and being found in his study so inscribed after his removal, was handed down to us.

But the story, as thus told, is met by the fact that in

1582, when Buchanan was buried, Adamson was only six years old; though, of course, he had obtained the relic at some after period. To conclude, Principal Adamson presided over the University of Edinburgh for the lengthened period of twenty-nine years—from 1623 to 1652.*

* Cant's edition of *The Muses Threnodie*; Perth Kirk Session Books; Perth Town Council Books; *Chronicle of Perth*, pp. 35, 36; Wilson's *Presbytery of Perth*; Bower's *History of the University of Edinburgh*; Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, pp. 475, 513; Irving's *Memoirs of George Buchanan* (1817).

THE BROOCH OF LORN.—Part 1st.

Whence the brooch of burning gold,
That clasps the chieftain's mantle-fold,
Wrought and chased with rare device,
Studded fair with gems of price,
On the varied tartans beaming,
As, through night's pale rainbow gleaming,
Fainter now, now seen afar,
Fitful shines the northern star?

Lord of the Isles.

To tell the story of the Brooch of Lorn, which once adorned the mantle of King Robert Bruce, and became the spoil of battle in a Perthshire glen, requires that we commence the narration in the misty ages of Scottish history. The district of Lorn, comprehending the northern portion of the county of Argyle, has been the patrimony successively of several great families, all of them distinguished in the national annals. On a rocky point of this seaboard-territory, beaten evermore by the waves of the Atlantic, stand the crumbling ruins of Dunstaffnage, the castle-palace of the ancient Kings of Scotland. As such, Dunstaffnage was the early repository of the *Lagfail*, the Fatal Stone, or Stone of Fortune, sitting on which those Sovereigns were crowned. This mystic palladium of the Monarchy being transferred to Scone, remained there for ages, till it was thence carried to England, by Edward I.; and from his day to ours it has formed a curious appendage of the Coronation-chair in Westminster Abbey. Moreover, the Highland antiquary maintains that in Upper Lorn he can identify various scenes of the Ossianic poems—such, for example, as the heath of Lora, where the “wanderer unseen,” the “breeze of the valley,” still wantons with the thistle's beard, and where numerous grey cairns still mark the fields of the slain, as when Ullin the Bard pointed them out to Carthon:—
“The ghosts of our foes are many : but renowned are the friends of Morven ! Behold that field, O Carthon !

many a green hill rises there, with mossy stones and rustling grass; these are the tombs of Fingal's foes, the sons of the rolling sea!" There, too, is traced the site of Selma, where the feast of shells was spread, when Fingal and his warriors, "in the days of song, heard the music of harps, the tales of other times:" and some countenance is lent to these conjectures by the fact that "woody Morven," the principal dominion of the Fingalian race, lies on the opposite side of the Sound at the mouth of Loch Linnhe.

Speaking of Morven, Dunstaffnage, and the Stone of Fortune, carries us back to times the chronicles of which are so scanty and obscure that we can catch only vague glimpses of the wars and migrations of barbarous tribes, led by chiefs or kings shadowy as Banquo's phantom line in the Weird Sisters' incantation. The close of the ninth century saw the roving Vikingers commence that struggle for supremacy in the Hebrides, which ultimately resulted in the firm establishment of an insular monarchy under the Raven standard,—encouraging those repeated invasions of the mainland of Scotland, which, however, were invariably repelled. But by the beginning of the twelfth century the Norse power in the Western Islands was approaching its downfall; for then the portentous figure of "royal Somerled," Somhairle, or Samuel (as the English is), thane of Argyle, and ancestor of the famous Lords of the Isles, strode in with sounding steps on the troubled stage. It is matter of dispute whether his extraction was Scandinavian or Celtic. The Celts strenuously claim him as of their own kith and kin, and indeed the weight of proof seems in their favour. At all events, his immediate predecessors held certain possessions on the mainland of Argyle, from which his father, Gillebride, was expelled, probably by the arms of the Scottish Government, in consequence of his having backed the usurper, Donald Bane, who twice seized the throne of his nephew, Edgar, son of King Malcolm Canmore. Whilst the fortunes of Somerled were at their lowest ebb,—his father being landless, friendless, and with no better habitation

than a cavern,—a horde of Norsemen descended on the shores of Morven, and committed fearful havoc. At this period, Olaus or Olave the Red reigned in Man as Norwegian sovereign of the Isles, and he, it appears, authorised, if he did not personally conduct, the savage incursion. The Gael of Argyle, routed in every encounter with the marauders for want of a qualified leader, bethought them of young Somerled, whose prowess and skill had already been proved, and at once despatched messengers to solicit his acceptance of the command. According to tradition, the envoys found him angling for salmon in Glendhu. Somerled received the offer with indifference, and, declining it peremptorily, stated that he saw no prospect of his countrymen being able to cope with their oppressors. The envoys urgently entreated him to reconsider his decision. Still the despondent hero was obdurate, saying with a derisive smile—"The salmon that swallows my bait will as soon leap out of the water and fling itself upon this grassy bank, as the Gael will drive out their foes." His hook was instantly gulped down by a large fish, which, on feeling the treacherous barb, sprang up from the stream and fell at his feet. "Behold the omen!" exclaimed the messengers with delight. Somerled bowed to what seemed so plain a token of the will of fate. He betook himself to arms. The Highlanders flocked joyfully around him. But he selected only the hardy warriors, leaving the young and the aged, and, in advancing against the enemy, practised a stratagem to magnify his strength. He directed his followers to wrap themselves in cow-hides, and marched them in that guise along the breast of a hill in full view of the foe. After retiring out of sight, the Gael turned their hides, and again traversed the height: and the third time they appeared in their own waving tartans. The feint succeeded by inducing the Norsemen to divide their forces that they might meet the three seeming armies: and Somerled skilfully defeated them in detail. "His sword was like the beam of heaven when it pierces the sons of the vale; when the people are blasted

and fall, and all the hills are burning around." Victory after victory attested his capacity as a leader. Capturing the enemy's fleet, he extorted a treaty of peace, by which he obtained the lordship of the whole country of Argyle. The bonds of amity were still closer cemented by King Olave bestowing upon him the hand of his daughter, Ragnhildis—a marriage to which the Scandinavian kingdom of the Isles ultimately owed "its downfall and overthrow."

Thenceforth the remarkable career of Somerled can be traced with considerable distinctness on the chequered page of history. The Princess Ragnhildis brought him three sons—Dugall, Reginald, and Angus; and he had a still older son, Gillecillum, by a former marriage. His rapid elevation from the depths of misfortune stimulated the thane's besetting pride and ambition. The humiliations he had suffered at the hands of the Scottish Government could neither be forgotten nor forgiven. In those days, and for several hundred years after, the authority of the Crown was generally of small account in the Highlands, and was only exerted on some great and pressing emergency. When Malcolm IV., a boy of thirteen, came to the throne in 1153, Somerled threw down the gage of defiance by refusing allegiance. This was more than the Court could brook. A royal army, commanded by Gilchrist, Earl of Angus, marched to enforce the rebellious potentate's submission, and a conflict ensued, in which victory inclined somewhat to the rebel side. Angus proposed terms, and a pacification was concluded, which was regarded as of so much national importance, that it actually constituted an epoch from which many subsequent royal charters were dated. But Somerled's claymore could not rest in its sheath. Next year, 1154, saw it flashing forth again. The assassination of King Olave by two of his nephews afforded the aspiring thane a pretext to claim the vacant throne of the Isles for his eldest son, Dugall, by the second marriage. The male line of Olave, however, was not extinct. His son and heir, Godred the Black,

prepared to defend his just rights against his aggressive brother-in-law. The fleets of Argyle and Man encountered in battle; but the issue proving doubtful, Godred saw meet to come to an accommodation, by which he ceded to Somerled what were then designated the South Isles; retaining for himself the North Isles and Man. The peace was hollow—little other than a mere truce. In 1158, Somerled broke anew into war, scattered Godred's naval power, and drove him out of Man; thereby acquiring undisputed sway over all the Isles, north and south, and Man.

Somerled had now reached the pinnacle of his greatness. The sovereignty of Man, and the lordship of Argyle and the Isles were his, but sufficed him not. A prize still more alluring than the island-diadem glittered in the distance. His evil genius, his overweening faith in his own destiny, tempted him to grasp at the Scottish crown itself. Full of the mad scheme, he mustered his utmost strength, and in the year 1164 entered the Firth of Clyde with 160 galleys. Disembarking his clansmen in safety, he pushed on for Renfrew. But the crisis of his fate was come. He had hazarded everything on the cast, and it was to be fatally adverse. Treason was busy in his own host. A traitor assassinated him in his own pavilion in the dead of night. Next morning the plaided warriors, discovering their leader cold in his blood, were overwhelmed with dismay; and being attacked by a portion of the Scottish army, were forced to retreat ignominiously to their ships. "By the just judgment of God," says the *Chronicon Manniæ*, the invader "was killed and vanquished, together with his son and a vast multitude, by a very few." The thane's eldest son, Gillecallum, was among the slain; but he left a son, named Somerled, in whom the branch eventually became extinct. This was the first attempt of the Islesmen upon the Scottish Crown: the second, and last, being that of Donald of the Isles, in 1411, which was crushed by the chivalry of the Lowlands at the desperate battle of Harlaw. The "royal Somerled" is described by an

old Highland authority as having been "a well-tempered man, in body shapely, of a fair piercing eye, of middle stature, and of quick discernment:" and a massive drinking-cup, said to have belonged to him, is still preserved as a precious relic in the Castle of Dunvegan. His death was followed by a partition of what remained of his vast possessions amongst his family; for by the Celtic laws and usages of succession, the eldest son of a house was not sole inheritor of lands and honours. Argyle, including Lorn, came to the grandson, the second Somerled. The kingdom of the Isles, acquired through the marriage with the Princess Ragnhildis, was divided amongst her three sons; certain of the South Isles falling to Dugall, Isla and Cantire to Reginald, and Bute to Angus. As for the Isle of Man, it was recovered immediately after Somerled's fall by Godred the Black, whose race kept it till the final cession by Norway to Scotland of all the Hebrides, in 1266, after the Battle of Largs had dispelled for ever the dream of Scandinavian conquest. Dissensions soon arose between Somerled's sons. Reginald and Angus went to war. The latter defended himself successfully, and inflicted a galling defeat upon his brother, in 1192, but was slain at last in 1210, along with his three sons, in Skye. One of these sons, James by name, left a daughter, Jane, who married Alexander, son and heir of Walter, High Steward of Scotland, and ancestor of the Stewart line of kings.

Gillecallum's son, the second Somerled, had the ill-luck, in 1221, to embroil himself in a rebellion; upon which King Alexander II., surnamed the Fierce, entered Argyle, put him to flight, and created Gillespie Campbell of Lochow, hereditary Sheriff of the Shire. Somerled is heard of no more. After a space, he was succeeded in the lordship of Lorn by the descendants of Dugall, third son of Reginald, one of the three sons of Somerled the first. Their Gaelic patronymic was *Macdougall*, signifying "son of Dugall," and they appear in records under the title of *De Ergadia*. In 1284, Alister or Alexander de Ergadia

attended the Scottish Convention which settled the succession to the throne in the person of Margaret, the "Maid of Norway," granddaughter of Alexander III. This chief also played a very prominent part in the latter war of Scottish independence. His wife was daughter of John, sixth Lord of Badenoch, popularly called the "Red Comyn," whose son, the next Lord, a "Black Comyn," wedded Marjory, sister of John Baliol, King of Scotland. The son of the Countess Marjory was John, the "Red Comyn," the last Earl of Badenoch of his line. He it was who formed the secret compact with Robert Bruce respecting the Scottish Crown, and then was base enough to betray its purport to Edward I. On discovering the treason which had been practised against him by his trusted confederate, Bruce hastened to Dumfries. There, obtaining an interview with Comyn in the Church of the Minorite Friars, he taxed him with his perfidy, and, receiving an insolent denial, stabbed him before the high altar. The slaughter of the traitor roused the fiercest enmity of the house of Comyn against Bruce. He raised the standard of national independence, and was crowned at Scone, on the 27th March, 1306; but his realm was still to conquer from the Southron. On the 19th June, he was surprised and defeated at Methven by the Earl of Pembroke, and with the remnants of his army, fled towards the Grampians.

The fugitives sought refuge in Athole, but were reduced to the direst straits for lack of the commonest necessities of life. None of the Atholian chiefs dared to afford succour,—so general was their terror of the English, — except, if we may credit tradition, the Chief of the Robertsons or Duncansons, Duncan the Fat, who claimed descent, like Alister of Lorn, from the Lords of the Isles : and it is also said that Bruce lodged for a space in one of Duncan's strongholds, on a peninsula at the west end of Loch Tummel the land approach to which was defended by a deep ditch. The patriot-band passed northwards to Aberdeenshire, where they were joined by Nigel Bruce, the King's brother, and

several royal and noble ladies under his escort—Elizabeth of Ulster, the Queen; Christina and Mary, sisters of the King; and Marjory, his daughter, with some other high-born dames, all of whom were in equal distress and danger. As Barbour writes—

———They went to Aberdeen,
Where Neil the Bruce came and the Queen,
And other ladies fair and pleasand,
Ilk ane for love of their husband :
And for leal love and loyalty,
Partner of their pains would be :
They choosed rather with them to ta
Anger and pains than be them fra.

Privation still continuing to be the lot of the royal party, and peril threatening on every hand, the King resolved to turn back, and, by skirting the head of Loch Tay, endeavour to reach the country of his assured friend the Earl of Lennox, on whose succour he could confidently count. By taking this western route, however, Bruce ran the risk of being attacked by the enemy. Alister of Lorn, infuriated by the murder of his lady's nephew, the Red Comyn, had firmly embraced the English interest, and panted for vengeance on the homicidal King : though it is remarkable that he was the only scion of Somerled's race who took that side,—the other branches, headed by the potent Angus Oig, Lord of the Isles, subsequently supporting Bruce with all their power. When Alister received tidings that the King was coming westward through Breadalbane, he planned waylaying and cutting him off. His clansmen and allies were speedily mustered. Amongst others by whom he was joined were the Macnabs or *Clan-an-Aba*, the sons of the Abbot, or descendants of the Abbot of Glendochart, a lay dignitary who ranked as a great lord with the Earls of Athole and Menteith, in the days of William the Lion. The lands of the Macnabs lay in the vale of the Dochart, and the chief's seat was at Kinnell, on the banks of the river. Another auxiliary clan was that of the Macnaughtans of Lochawe-side, whose chief claimed far descent from Lorn, son of Erc, one of the three leaders who founded Dalriada. Altogether the force collected to oppose Bruce numbered about a thou-

sand plaided Gael trained in the warfare of the mountains, and armed with claymores and dirks and also with the formidable pole-axe, called the Lochaber axe, a ponderous and deadly weapon, which had been adopted from the Norsemen. Lorn's espial shewed him that Bruce might be expected in Glendochart, and therefore he posted his men under cover of a wood at a place known as Dalree, — the King's Haugh or Field, — near the Pool and Chapel of St Fillan, and on the south side of the water. The royal party soon appeared on the banks of the Dochart, wayworn, travel-stained, gaunt with famine; but the female train wearing blythe looks to lighten the dejection that might otherwise have oppressed their gallant protectors. The month of August was begun, and Autumn's mellow tints overspread all the hills and the quiet vale through which the Dochart ran sparkling in the sunshine. It was a wild, desolate, but withal placid scene, reposing as it were under the beneficent influences of its patron saint, whose power was devoted to the relief of suffering humanity. Leisurely marched the fugitives, and they were taken by utter surprise when the lurking lion in the path was revealed not far from the holy Pool. The King was accompanied by his bravest captains, and his force of four or five hundred soldiers being largely composed of cavalry—men-at-arms clad in mail, and mounted on barbed chargers, it was to be anticipated that their onset would scatter like chaff the horde of mountaineers whose only covering was the tartan. At first view of the enemy, each bold knight doubtless reckoned of the issue, in the spirit of Roland Cheyne:—

If they ha'e twenty thousand blades,
And we twice ten times ten,
Yet they ha'e but their tartan plaids,
And we are mail-clad men.

My horse shall ride through ranks sae rude,
As through the moorland fern,—
Then ne'er let the gentle Norman blude
Grow cauld for Highland kerne.

So might it have proved, on a chosen field, with the whirlwind of steeds and levelled lances; but,—here, un-

luckily, the ground was unfavourable for the effective evolutions of cavalry, while it did not hamper the mode of attack habitual to the Highlanders. The King made the best dispositions possible in the emergency: the ladies were placed in the centre of the array: and the battle joined.

Rushing forward with wild yells and poised axes, the men of Lorn threw themselves upon the steel-clad phalanx, wielding their weapons with powerful effect that speedily broke gaps in the serried ranks, crashing like the thunderbolts that smote the Titans. An onslaught of Southron bill-men would have been nothing to this impetuous surge of Highland fury. The royalist veterans, who had borne the brunt of many a hard struggle, fought with their usual valour; but the Gael burst in amongst them at intervals, and the melee was desperate. Horses were struck down, felled by the heavy axes, and the riders were trampled to death in the press. If the mountaineers were repelled now and again, they rallied stoutly, raising their savage slogan, and returned to the charge reckless of wounds or death, knowing that the eye of their chief was upon them, marking their deeds, and that the prize was the Bruce, who had spilt the blood of Lorn's kinsman at Dumfries. Despite the losses which they sustained, they still crowded on with unabated ardour, and the hideous clang and roar of conflict resounded through the vale, summoning from afar the eagles and the carrion-crows to a feast of carnage. Already one or two of the Brucian leaders were wounded—Sir Gilbert Hay and the Black Douglas: and at length the King was convinced of the necessity of retreat, to avoid a discomfiture worse than that at Methven. The battle was visibly going against him, and if prolonged on the same spot would result in his total overthrow. He addressed his friends—"It is folly to protract the contest here," he said, "for the horse have not room to charge, and they are falling fast. Let us withdraw into yonder narrow pass, where we will be able to hold the foe in check." Galling it was to brave hearts, even while fighting at great disad-

vantage, to yield the palm ; but the fates seemed inexorable, and no possible effort could wholly retrieve the fortune of the day by shaking off and scattering the swarm of assailants. The word for retreat was passed, and the Royalists steadily retired towards the nearest glen, keeping the foe at bay, though he, fired with fresh daring, redoubled his energies to complete the victory which he plainly saw was half won. During this retrograde movement the skill and dauntless bravery of Bruce shone pre-eminently, extorting the admiration of Alister of Lorn himself, bitterly as he hated his Sovereign, and eagerly as he urged on his men to destroy him. The King, conspicuous on his war-horse, and with a knightly mantle flowing over his armour, fastened at the shoulder by a glittering silver brooch set with precious stones, placed himself in the rear, covering the retreat, facing every danger, bearing down the foremost pursuers who ventured within the sweep of his steel. So brilliant a display of knightly prowess constrained Lorn to exclaim that it reminded him of the feats of the olden heroes of the north. " Behold ! " he cried, " he fights like Gaul the son of Morni, when defending his followers against the attack of Fingal ! " But Archdeacon Barbour, who was far better acquainted with the romances of chivalry than with the ancient poems of the Gael, thinks the comparison would have been " more mannerlike " had Lorn likened the King to Sir Gaudifer de Layrs defending the forayers of Gadys against Alexander, whom he overthrew along with

————— Ptolemy there
And good Corineus also,
Dauchine, and also other mo;

though the poet, after all, confesses that this parallel, had it been drawn, would have failed, because Sir Gaudifer was at last slain in the fray, whereas the Bruce was not.*

* Dr M'Arthur's *Observations on Ossian's Poems* ; Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands and Isles* ; Rev. D. M'Callum's *History of the Ancient Scots* ; Chroni-

THE BROOCH OF LORN.—Part 2d.

When the gem was won and lost,
Widely was the war-cry toss'd !
Rung aloud Bendourish fell,
Answer'd Douchart's sounding dell,
Fled the deer from wild Teyndrum,
When the homicide, o'ercome,
Hardly 'scaped, with scathe and scorn,
Left the pledge with conquering Lorn !

Lord of the Isles.

WHILE Bruce was displaying a valour which rivalled or rather excelled that of the Paladins of romance,—repelling every attack upon the rear of his retiring forces, and frequently his ardour, the heroic spirit of battle, impelling him beyond prudent bounds,—three of the Lorn men, bold and athletic Highlanders, ready to lay down their lives for their chief and his cause, resolved to slay or capture the King, or to perish in the enterprise. Two of them were brethren, named *Macendorser*—the sons of the Doorward, keeper of the door, or Porter of Lorn; and the third bore the name of *MacKeoch*. Hovering near Bruce, they watched their opportunity, until seeing him a considerable space behind his men, and passing a strait part of the way, where there was only a narrow track between a pool or lochlet, on one hand, and a steep brae on the other, they all three rushed upon him, confident that the hour of his fate was come. One of the *Macendorsers* clutched the steed's bridle, but he was instantly got rid of, for his sinewy arm was hewn in twain by a stroke of the Bruce's sword. The second brother seized the King by the foot within the stirrup-iron, intending to unhorse him. Bruce clapped spurs to his charger, and the Highlander, whose hand became

con Mannie; Clanship and the Clans; Barbour's Bruce; Kerr's History of Scotland during the Reign of Robert I.; Robertson's Historical Proofs on the Highlanders; Dr Robertson's Agricultural Survey of Perthshire, p. 554.

entangled in the stirrup, was thrown down and dragged along the ground, helplessly. The remaining confederate, MacKeoch, who had ascended the brae, leaped upon the crupper of the steed, and, throwing his arms around the King, grasped him by the mantle at the throat, endeavouring to pinion his arms and pull him from the saddle. Bruce quickly delivered himself. With some backward blows of his sword he beat out his enemy's brains, and then clove the skull of the prostrate wretch struggling at the stirrup-iron. But MacKeoch, though dead, could not be shaken off, his death-hold of the mantle being inflexible, and Bruce, to rid himself of the corpse, tore off the vestment, with the silver brooch by which it was secured, and the brained man tumbled to the earth. The jewel became the prize of the enemy. It was the celebrated "Brooch of Lorn."

The victory of the King over his three assailants was witnessed with unbounded amazement by Alister of Lorn and his friends. Macnaughtan of Lochaweside could not restrain a high meed of praise. "Of a truth," cried he, turning to Lorn, "never saw I so doughty a deed! Yon knight has slain three of our stoutest warriors, and has so daunted the rest that none dare venture upon him again." Lorn, in angry mood, answered with a sardonic smile—"Perchance it pleases you, Macnaughtan, that he slays our best men?" "Nay, saving your peace, it is not so," replied his ally, "but whether the knight be friend or foe who merits applause for his chivalrous bearings, it should be honestly rendered. And this will I say, that never in all my time have I heard, in song or romaunt, of such achievements as those which I have beheld this day." The Lorn men, thoroughly disheartened, now abandoned pursuit, and the Brucians continued their retreat in safety, sending forward a party to seek out quarters. This advanced guard reaching the head of Balquhidder, found a capacious cavern, in which they kindled fires and prepared couches of heath for their weary and wounded com-

rades. The main body halted at this shelter, and took some rest. The King, whose heart still beat buoyantly, counselled his brave followers to be of good cheer. "Banish sad thoughts," he said, "and let not discontent fill your minds because of the hardships which we now suffer. Discontent oft ends in despair, and a man in despair is utterly vanquished. Be it your trust that though meanwhile our fate be hard, fortune will yet smile upon us, and all will be well."

The march was resumed, and the Lennox country reached; but there so many perils encompassed the patriot band that the King was induced to send back Queen Elizabeth and the other ladies, under charge of Nigel Bruce, to Kildrummie Castle, in Aberdeenshire, where it was hoped they might abide in security until affairs took a better turn. Nigel accomplished this duty successfully. But the King, although relieved of the cares and anxieties attendant on the presence of the ladies, was soon forced to confess the impossibility of maintaining the struggle against the overwhelming power of the English, and, therefore, he determined to quit Scotland for a season. With a portion of his adherents, he crossed to Kintyre, whence he farther proceeded to the lone isle of Rachrin, in which he trusted to pass the winter months undisturbed. Tradition relates that on landing in Kintyre he was so hospitably entertained by a Highland tacksman, Ferquhard Mackay of Ugadell, that, on embarking for Rachrin, he took off his mantle-brooch, which had replaced the one left in the death-gripe of Mackeoch at Dalree, and presented it as a guerdon to his host, in whose family it was carefully treasured. The royal exile spent the winter in Rachrin, brooding over the coming contest which should restore his realm to independence: and when the gales of Spring shook the snowdrop on the leas, the Scottish banner was again unfurled, as a beacon of liberty, on the Scottish strand.

Yet, Freedom! yet thy banner, torn, but flying,
Streams like the thunder-storm *against* the wind;
Thy trumpet-voice, though broken now and dying,
The loudest still the tempest leaves behind;

Thy tree hath lost its blossoms, and the rind,
 Chopp'd by the axe, looks rough and little worth,
 But the sap lasts,—and still the seed we find
 Sown deep, even in the bosom of the North;
 So shall a better spring less bitter fruit bring forth.

The auguries were still gloomy and forbidding. Great disasters had befallen. The Queen and her ladies had been taken captive by the Southron. Nigel Bruce and other gallant Scottish patriots had been put to death. The outlook was black as black could be. King Robert strove to make head in Carrick; but fortune fought against him, as the stars in their courses fought against Sisera. There he again experienced the unappeasable hatred and hostility of the house of Lorn. Alister's son and heir, John, was animated by his father's spirit, and he brought a strong party of Lorn-men to the Carrick coast, to act as auxiliaries of the English. Bruce was discomfited, lost his standard, and took to flight. John of Lorn pursued with a bloodhound which had once belonged to the King, and was, therefore, the more likely to follow unerringly the slot of its old master. In vain the Bruce, choosing a single attendant, his faithful foster-brother, separated from the main body of his men. The hound tracked him for miles, till he adopted the expedient of wading down the bed of a running brook, which had the effect of destroying the scent. A tradition of this time avers that one dark and stormy night, Bruce was wandering alone on the Ayrshire coast, near to an old castle called Blairstone. That day his little band of adherents had been scattered by a sudden attack of the English, and the King was driven to seek refuge in the pathless wilds. He was traversing a dreary moor, on which lay a huge block of granite, overturned and half-embedded in the sod, and half-covered with the long heath. He sate himself down on the stone, and, in a momentary agony of despair, prayed that heaven would vouchsafe some visible sign to show whether he should continue the apparently hopeless struggle to vindicate his country's freedom. Faint and famished, and with the chilly blast from the sea sweeping over him, sleep overcame

his senses, and he sank recumbent on the stone, his two-handed sword lying beneath him. The midnight tempest beat in all its fury over the unprotected slumberer; but when he awoke in the grey of the morning, picture his astonishment to perceive that the stone on which he had lain was impressed or indented with the figure of his sword! Such was the sign vouchsafed by heaven! And from that hour Bruce never despaired of ultimate triumph,—although for long he was beset by adversities manifold. “There is no living man,” says Fordun, “who is able to narrate the complicated misfortunes which befel” the valiant King, “in the commencement of this war, his frequent peril, his retreats, the care and weariness, the hunger and thirst, the watching and fasting, the cold and nakedness, to which he exposed his person; the exile into which he was driven; the snares and ambushes which he escaped; the seizure, imprisonment, the execution and utter destruction of his dearest friends and relatives. . . . And if, in addition to these innumerable and untoward events, which he ever bore with a cheerful and unconquered spirit, any man should undertake to describe his personal conflicts and individual successes, those courageous and single-handed combats, in which, by the favour of God, and his own great strength and courage, he would often penetrate into the thickest of the enemy; now becoming the assailant, and cutting down all who opposed him, at another time, acting on the defensive, and evincing equal talents in escaping from what seemed inevitable death; if any writer shall do this, he will prove, if I am not mistaken, that he had no equal in his own time, either in knightly prowess, or in strength and vigour of body.” The steadfastness of Bruce rose superior to all misfortune, moulding destiny to the accomplishment of the one lofty purpose which was the mission of his life.

The day came when “glory without end scatter’d the clouds away.” As soon as the tide turned, the first care of Bruce was to clear scores with Lorn.

Accordingly, in 1308, he invaded the territory of his rancorous foe, and met the Macdougalls, who were commanded by Alister and John, at the pass of Cruachan Ben, where he gave them an utter overthrow. Alister took boat on Loch Etive, and fled to Dunstaffrage, which, however, he speedily abandoned, and made his way to England, followed by his son. The father died in exile, but the son returned, though still in the Southron interest. After Bannockburn, John was appointed admiral of an English fleet, which was sent to the Scottish waters. He sailed to the Hebrides, where he hoped to excite the Islesmen to declare in his favour. But the measures of Bruce were prompt and decisive. Assembling a fleet on the west coast, he brought it to Tarbet, on the east side of the peninsula of Kintyre, resolving that, instead of rounding the Mull, in order to reach Lorn's armada, which kept the outer sea, he should avail himself of an ancient popular prophecy that promised sovereignty to whoever passed in a ship over the narrow isthmus of land separating Kintyre from Knapdale. By means of smooth planks and other mechanical appliances, Bruce contrived to carry his galleys across.

It was a wondrous sight to see
 Topmast and pennon glitter free,
 High raised above the greenwood tree,
 As on dry land the galley moves,
 By cliff and copse and alder groves.
 Deep import from that selcouth sign,
 Did many a mountain seer divine,
 For ancient legends told the Gael,
 That when a royal bark should sail
 O'er Kilmaconnel moss,
 Old Albyn should in fight prevail,
 And every foe should faint and fail
 Before her silver cross.

The Brucian forces coming suddenly upon the admiral, who little anticipated an attack, as he had received no news of the Royal Fleet having yet doubled the Mull of Kintyre, destroyed his ships, and took him prisoner. He was conveyed first to Dumbarton Castle, and afterwards to Lochleven Castle, where he died in captivity. All his lands were forfeited to the Crown. He left two

sons, John and Allan, both of whom lay under the ban of proscription till the reign of David II., when the eldest son married a niece of that Monarch,—Joanna, daughter of Maud, younger daughter of Robert Bruce, —and was installed in the estates and honours of his house. His name appears occasionally in the Exchequer Rolls, as, for example, in 1362, when 6s 8d was paid as expenses of John of Lorn, nephew of our lord the King, for one night in the town of Perth. But he was the last of the Macdougall Lords of Lorn. His daughter and heiress, Janet,—for he had no son,—became the wife of Sir Robert Stewart of Schanbothy, who in April, 1388, disposed the lands of Lorn to his brother, Sir John, of Innermeath, in exchange for Durrisdeer and other lands.

The chieftainship of the Clan Macdougall vested itself in the Donolly branch of the old line, descended from Allan, the younger brother of John. The Macdougalls honourably distinguished themselves by their unswerving loyalty to the cause of Charles I. during the great Civil War. In 1715 they supported the insurrection of the Earl of Mar, for which the chief lost his lands. The lands, however, being restored shortly previous to the outbreak of the Rebellion of 1745, this act of generosity on the part of Government kept the clan from joining the Young Chevalier. At that time the military strength of the Macdougalls was computed at 200 swordsmen.

The Stewarts of Innermeath drew their descent from the great-grandfather of King Robert III. of Scotland. In 1386, Sir Robert Stewart of Innermeath, Durrisdeer, and Schanbothy, died, leaving two sons—Sir John, who succeeded to Innermeath and Durrisdeer, and Sir Robert, who obtained Schanbothy. Sir Robert, who married the heiress of Lorn, became the progenitor of the house of Rossyth. His elder brother, Sir John, who acquired Lorn from him by exchange, was the father of Sir James, the “Black Knight of Lorn,” who, wedding Joan Beaufort, widow of James I., was the ancestor of the noble houses of Athole, Buchan, and

Traquair. Robert, son of Sir James, and Lord of Lorn, became the husband of Margaret, daughter to the Duke of Albany, who was Regent of Scotland during the long captivity of his nephew, James I. in England. Robert was succeeded by his son, John, whose family consisted of three daughters, the eldest of whom, Isabel, married Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, subsequently the first Earl of Argyle. In default of John having heirs-male, the lands of Lorn &c., were devised by a settlement, dated 20th June, 1452, to pass to his brothers; and accordingly on his death, his next brother, Walter, succeeded him. But Sir Colin Campbell concluded an agreement with Walter, and acquired Lorn by excambing or exchanging therefor equivalent possessions in Perthshire. Ever since that transaction, Lorn has remained an appanage of the house of Argyle.

The origin of the surname Campbell has long been a disputed point. Whether do we find it in the Norman, or rather the Italian *Campo bello*, or in the Celtic *Cambeul*? Let the antiquaries decide. At early periods of their history, the Campbells were at feud with the race of Somerled. We have seen what high honour they reaped through the downfall of Somerled's grandson. In 1294 there was war betwixt the Lord of Lorn and Sir John Campbell of Lochow. The latter having gained a battle, pushed the pursuit so far that the flying enemy were tempted to turn upon him, and he was surrounded and slain at a place called the String of Cowal. His son, Sir Neil, was an ardent adherent of Bruce, and that Monarch gave him the hand of his sister, Mary, in marriage, and otherwise rewarded his gallant services. Sir Neil's grandson, Archibald, also contracted a marriage which connected him with the Royal family of Scotland,—his bride being Margaret, sister of Queen Annabella Drummond, consort of Robert III. Duncan, the son of Archibald, married Mariota, or Marjory, one of the daughters of the Regent Duke of Albany,—of which union came the head of the Glenorchy or Breadalbane branch of the Campbells.

The earldom of Argyle was conferred in 1457, the

marquisate in 1641, and the dukedom in 1701. During the two centuries and a-half preceding the Union of England and Scotland, various Lords of Argyle occupied high offices of State in the latter kingdom, and most of them served their country faithfully and well. An Earl of Argyle was the first Scottish patrician who avowed his adhesion to the principles of the Reformation. His son, however, whose first Countess was the natural daughter of King James V., took the other side in the after-struggle. Disgusted with the dark machinations of the Regent Moray and his faction,—for it will be remembered that Lady Argyle formed one of the supper party in Queen Mary's chamber in Holyrood Palace when the conspirators burst in and assassinated Rizzio,—the Earl heartily espoused the cause of the ill-starred Queen, and commanded her troops on the fatal field of Langside. Another Argyle was the crafty and dominant spirit of the Covenant, who crowned Charles II. at Scone, and yet lost his head on the scaffold. His son subsequently shared the like fate. But perhaps the greatest of the modern race of Macallainmore was the soldier-duke, who figured so prominently in the times of Anne and the first two Georges, and who was celebrated by Pope in the well-known couplet:—

Argyle, the State's whole thunder born to wield,
And shake alike the senate and the field.

With him we may fitly close our cursory sketch of the ancient houses that have successively held the Lordship of Lorn; but we may add that neither the race of mighty Somerled, the Stewarts of Innermeath, nor the Campbells of Argyle, were ever previously dignified by so great an alliance as that which associates Lorn with a British Princess, the daughter of Victoria.

Finally, a few words relating to the Brooches of the Bruce. And first as to that of Kintyre. After Bannockburn had established the throne of King Robert, he rewarded Ferqubard Mackay with a free grant of the lands of Ugadell and Ardnakill, upon the simple tenure of entertaining the Sovereign of Scotland whenever he should visit Kintyre. The brooch, having

been treasured for centuries in the family, was supposed to be lost about the year 1745, and, notwithstanding every search, could not be found. John Sobieski and Charles Edward Stuart, in their *Tales of the Century*, published in 1847, state that "when the present proprietor pulled down the old house of Losset for the purpose of building the present residence, as the workmen were employed in taking off the wainscot in one of the upper rooms, a heavy object fell from behind a panel among the rubbish. The wright, supposing it to be a piece of stone or mortar, continued his work without notice; but, when he left work, observing some object glitter on the floor, he discovered the brooch, which, being richly gilt, was little tarnished by time and damp. It is supposed that it had been concealed behind the wainscot in the year 1746, during the alarm excited by the outrages and rapine of the troops and cruisers, especially the 'notorious barbarian,' Captain Caroline Scott, who commanded the *Furnace* sloop-of-war."

The "Brooch of Lorn," which was seized on the banks of the Dochart, became a precious heirloom in the house of the Chief of Macdougall, and was transmitted from father to son through many generations, until in 1647, when General Leslie's covenanting soldiers captured, plundered, and burned the Castle of Goalen, in the isle of Kerrera, the relic fell into the possession of Campbell of Inverawe, in whose family it remained for upwards of a century and a-half. About the year 1808,—we follow the competent authority of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder,—"it passed into the hands of a cadet of that house (Inverawe), who, fully aware of its value, appointed it by his Testament to be sold, and the proceeds divided among his younger children. It was accordingly sent to Messrs Rundell and Bridge, to be exposed for sale, at the price of a thousand pounds. It is said that the late George IV., then Prince Regent, offered five hundred pounds for it. This sum was refused, and the brooch withdrawn. Ultimately, in the year 1825, the late General

Campbell of Lochnell, being anxious to bestow some mark of grateful regard on his esteemed friend and neighbour, MacDougall, purchased the brooch, and presented it to him through his chief, the late Duke of Argyll, at a social meeting of the landholders of the county." The brooch "is of silver, of very curious form and ancient workmanship," says Sir Thomas, "and consists of a circular plate, about four inches in diameter, with a tongue like that of a common buckle on the under side. The margin of the upper side has a rim rising from it, with hollows cut in the edge at certain distances, like the embrasures in an embattled wall. From the circle within this rim, eight very delicately-worked tapering cones start up at regular intervals to the height of an inch and a quarter, each having a large pearl in its apex. Concentric with these, there is an inner circle, also ornamented with carved work, within which there is a raised circular case occupying the whole disk of the brooch, and slightly overtopping the cones. The circle exterior to this case projects into eight semi-cylinders, relieving it from all appearance of heaviness. The upper part is also very elegantly carved, and the centre is filled by a very large unpolished gem. Nobody has yet been able to determine the nature of this central stone." When her Majesty, Queen Victoria, visited Taymouth, in September, 1842, the brooch was worn by Captain MacDougall, R.N., while acting as steersman of the royal barge on Loch Tay. The jewel was shewn to the Queen, who examined it in her hand : and the incident is remembered in the royal *Journal*:—" Captain M'Dougall, who steered, and who is head of the M'Dougalls, shewed us the real 'brooch of Lorn,' which was taken by his ancestor from Robert Bruce in a battle."

But this "real brooch" has its rival, which was said to be the genuine relic by its custodiers, the Macnabs of Strathfillan. "According to the belief of Perthshire," write the brothers Stuart, Bruce's brooch "fell to the possession of the Macnabs, having been taken

at the battle of Dal-Righ by Angus Mor, their chief, in whose family it was preserved at Kinnel, until the great Civil War, when the Clan Nab, remaining loyal, was plundered and burned by the Campbells of Glenlyon, from whom, by the marriage of the heiress of the latter house with Garden of Troop, it passed into that family, with whom it is still preserved." As between these conflicting statements, we "cannot tell how the truth may be," and, therefore, we leave the matter to the reader's own decision, satisfied that we have laid a plain, unvarnished tale before him.*

* Barbour's *Bruce*; Tytler's *History of Scotland*, and *Lives of Scottish Worthies*; Fordun's *Scotichronicon*; Douglas' *Peerage of Scotland*; *The Herald and Genealogist*, vol. vi.; Stuarts' *Tales of the Century*; Sir Thomas Dick Lauder's *Memorial of the Royal Progress in Scotland*; *Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands*.

PASSAGES IN THE HISTORY OF THE
OLIPHANTS.—Part 1st.

A gallant man-at-arms is here; a doctor
In feats of chivalry.

John Ford—"The Broken Heart."

"THOUGH few families have made a greater figure in the annals of Scotland than that of Oliphant," says Sir Robert Douglas, in his *Peerage*, "yet the traditional accounts of their origin are various." This observation equally applies to other Scottish houses whose progenitors are lost to our ken amid the same haze that obscures and perplexes the ancient history of the realm. Passing by the "traditional accounts," which give the Oliphants a higher antiquity than can be borne out by authentic record, we obtain the first distinct glimpse of them in the reign of David I. When the surname first appears, it is in the form of *Olifard*. The commonly-received derivation of *Oliphant* is from the old English and Dutch word *olifant*—an elephant (though *olfend* in Anglo-Saxon signifies a camel); and the supporters of the Oliphant arms are two elephants proper, which obviously have been adopted in allusion to the surname, as in the similar case of Cunningham, Earl of Glencairn, who carried *conies*.

The Scottish house of Oliphant seems to have owed its origin to an English knight. When David I. was worsted by King Stephen of England at the siege of Winchester, in 1142, a soldier in the Southron army, David de Olifard, generously succoured the Scottish monarch, enabled him to elude the pursuit of his foes, and escorted him in safety across the Border into his own kingdom. So runs the tale. Grateful for this good service, the King gave his champion broad lands in Roxburghshire, and thenceforth De Olifard became a loyal subject of the Scottish realm. He was also created Justiciary of Laodonia or Lothian, being the first holder of that high office of whom records speak.

He was a witness to grants by King David, that "sair sanct to the Crown," in favour of the Priory of Coldingham,—appending his seal thereto bearing the three crescents, which have formed the Oliphant cognizance to the present day. The Justiciar is said to have had five sons, the eldest of whom, David, succeeded his father, as well in his lands as in the Lothian dignity, which office, after his death, about the year 1200, was conferred upon Walter, his eldest son and heir. Walter Olifard married Christian, daughter of the Earl of Strathearn, and obtained with her as dowry the lands of Strageith, which he subsequently exchanged for other lands in the county of Perth. He acquired high favour with Alexander II., and was one of the Scottish sureties at that Sovereign's marriage with the Princess Joanna of England. Sir Walter had only one son, christened after himself, Walter, who succeeded him in 1242, and became the fourth Justiciar.

During the century which had elapsed since the coming of the first Olifard into Scotland, the family had spread out several branches. Thus we read that before 1232, Sir William Olifard granted to the monks of the Abbey of Coupar-Angus, with consent of his superior, Thomas of Galloway, fifth Earl of Athole, and Isabella, his Countess, the lands of Imath or Innaith. But it is not our purpose to enquire minutely into the genealogical details of the Oliphant race: what we design being simply to narrate, from the best authorities within our reach, some of the more remarkable incidents in the long and varied history of the main stem of the family,—the share of the Oliphants in the national wars,—their feuds with their neighbours and rivals,—their good deeds and their bad deeds,—and, in short, such circumstances as are worth telling over again, without burdening our page with matter uninteresting to the general reader.

Each of the four Justiciars we have spoken of occupied eminent station in Scotland, and at the Scottish Court; and they are named as witnesses to numerous royal and other benefactions to religious houses.

Walter de Olifard, the fourth, had lands in Stirlingshire as well as in the Lothians and Perthshire; for a Convention, entered into in 1245 betwixt the Abbots of Holyrood and Newbottle, mentions the lands of Kalantyr, &c., which were held in feu-farm from Walter de Olifard and David Cummin. Walter had three sons, the eldest being William, who, with others of his blood, took the field in defence of his country's freedom against the aggression of Edward I. At the Battle of Dunbar two knights of the Olifards fighting in the Scottish ranks were taken captive—the one, William Olifard, and the other, William, the Justiciar's son, who afterwards is called William de Olifant. Both obtained release, probably on constrained swearing of allegiance and rendering of homage to the conqueror. But the Justiciar's son did not forget his duty to Scotland. While yet but *un jouen bachelor Descoce* (a young Scottish bachelor, as an old chronicler styles him), he stood forth as a true, zealous, and incorruptible patriot in the gloomiest period of the War of Independence. When Wallace resigned the office of Guardian of Scotland, after the Battle of Falkirk, John Comyn of Badenoch and John de Soulis were chosen as Governors or Regents, and with them were soon conjoined Robert Bruce and Bishop Lamberton of St Andrews. Under these Regents, the war was carried on against the invader, though with indifferent spirit and success. The disputes which broke out between King Edward and his nobles about chartered liberties conduced for a space to hamper his operations against Scotland. Indeed, these quarrels rose to such a height that the barons stoutly refused to follow him with their retainers beyond Berwick, in his projected invasion of the sister kingdom. The Scottish forces besieged Stirling Castle, which was held by an English garrison, and the Governor, finding himself hard pressed, sent to his Sovereign soliciting assistance. Edward's hands were bound by his malcontent barons, and he answered the Stirling appeal by informing the garrison that, seeing he could not help them, they should surrender. They

accordingly capitulated, and the place was delivered over to Sir John de Soulis, who appointed as its Governor, Sir William Olifant, the Justiciar's son. This was in 1300; and it is probable that now, by the death of his father, he was become the head of his house.

Four years passed on, and Olifant faithfully kept the important trust. Latterly, although occasional gleams of good fortune had shone on the Scottish cause, the overwhelming power and resources of Edward prevailed. Having pacified the demands of his nobles, he was enabled to march a vast and well-appointed army into Scotland. He overran the country, and speedily all its places of strength, except Stirling Castle, fell into his hands. Patriotic hopes were sunk low. No soldier of courage and genius led the few Scottish troops. Wallace and one or two of his compatriots, ostracised by the envy and hatred of the weak and worthless intriguers who still retained the shadow of supreme command, were driven to the shelter of the woods and rocks. Soulis, one of the Regents, was in France; but even had he been at home, he could have done nothing to stem the tide of conquest. In the spring of 1304, his brother Regent, Comyn, made a feeble attempt to save the Castle of Stirling by collecting the remains of the Scottish army on the banks of the Forth; but Edward found an unguarded ford, and crossed the river, and Comyn, unable to make any stand, retired, —left Stirling to its fate,—and entered into terms for himself with the enemy. King Edward now turned upon Stirling, “the bulwark of the north,” which he was resolved to possess at any cost of blood and treasure. On seeing the army of England closing in around his embattled rock,—the last stronghold on which the Scottish flag was still flying, Sir William Olifant despatched a message to King Edward deprecating attack and excusing himself from surrender, upon the plea that, having pledged his word to Sir John Soulis to keep the fortress, he could not give it up without breaking his knightly troth, unless at the express com-

mand of the Regent, who was absent in France; but, he added, if the King would consent to suspend hostilities, he would hasten personally to France, obtain the Regent's final orders, and, if authorised to surrender, would return with all speed, and deliver over his charge. When Edward heard this message, he seemed at first disposed to acquiesce in a proposal so much in accordance with the chivalrous sentiments and usages of the age; but immediately another temper prevailed, and he haughtily declared that he could accede to no such terms, and that if Olifant did not yield the castle, he should defend it at his highest peril.

Oliphant was nothing daunted. He and his brave companions-in-arms — amongst whom were a knight named William de Dupplyn (supposed to have been the Governor's cousin), and two Olifards, Hugh and Walter — prepared for a desperate defence. Edward having proclaimed sentence of outlawry against Sir William Wallace, Sir Simon Fraser, and the garrison of Stirling, the siege of the castle was begun on 22d April. The enemy strained every nerve to ensure success, employing formidable engines against the fortifications which generally were not very strong; but the Scots displayed the most indomitable resolution, making good every point of vantage. The English King on two occasions narrowly escaped death. While riding near the walls, his horse was overturned by a huge stone discharged from the ramparts, and he was carried down the hill by his own soldiers. Again, being struck by a javelin, which stuck between the plates of his armour, he pulled it out, and, shaking it in defiance, cried that he would hang the villain who aimed it at him. For the space of three months the besieged conducted an obstinate defence. Up to the 20th of May, the castle had resisted every assault. All the English engines, thirteen in number, which threw stones and leaden balls of 300 pounds weight, had been burned by the enterprise of the Scots. New machines and more munitions of war, including a supply of the Greek fire, were ordered down from England; and when these arrived, the attack was

renewed with the utmost vigour. At length the provisions of the devoted garrison became exhausted, and on the 24th of July, Olifant surrendered. Thirteen women, the wives and sisters of the knights and barons who defended the place, were shut up along with the soldiers, and their distress and misery had become extreme. The remnant of the garrison consisted of the Governor, twenty-three knights and barons, (Sir William de Dupplin, and the two Olifards, Hugh and Walter, still amongst them); two ecclesiastics, William de Keith, a Dominican, and Peter de Edereston, a Benedictine; and 140 common soldiers. Sir William and his twenty-three companions were led out before the conqueror in abject attire, but were spared the indignity of chains. Olifant was sent to the Tower of London, and the rest of the garrison to different prisons in England. Our hero remained a captive till 1308, when he was set at liberty. On reaching his native country, he threw in his lot with Robert Bruce. A knight in the English interest, also named William Olyfant, was Governor of the town of Perth for King Edward, when it was besieged for six weeks by Bruce and taken on 8th January, 1311-12.

Sir William Olifant, the renowned defender of Stirling, was a steadfast adherent of the Bruce, and shared with him the perils and triumphs of the struggle which closed so gloriously on the field of Bannockburn. The King conferred on him various grants of land. Oliphant was loyal to the last. He was one of the subscribers of the famous letter from the Scottish nobility to the Pope, dated at Aberbrothock, 6th April, 1320, asserting the national independence: in which they declare that "this kingdom hath been governed by an uninterrupted succession of 113 kings, all of our own native and royal stock, without the intervening of any stranger;" that if their Sovereign "shall leave the principles he hath so nobly pursued, and consent that we or our kingdom be subjected to the King and people of England, we will immediately endeavour to expel him as our enemy, and as the subverter both of his own and our rights,

and will make another King, who will defend our liberties:" and that "so long as there shall but one hundred of us remain alive, we will never give consent to subject ourselves to the dominion of the English. For it is not glory, it is not riches, neither is it honour, but it is liberty alone that we fight and contend for, which no honest man will lose but with his life." These are words of simple but deathless eloquence—the bold utterance of a profound love of country and freedom—that, as they sound across the gulf of five centuries, still stir the blood of every true Scot as with a trumpet-blast! Happy the land that can point to such an embodiment of the native spirit of patriotism—the most precious and enduring of all palladiums!*

At Aberdalgie was the chief seat of Sir William Olifant. He was styled *Dominus de Aberdalgie*—Lord of Aberdalgie: and there he died and was buried. His death took place on 5th February, 1329. To this day in the churchyard of Aberdalgie,—and, as is believed, on the spot where the old kirk stood,—is seen an old monument of black marble, covered by a flat slab, on which is indented the figure of a recumbent warrior; while a slab of equal dimensions is supported above it, as a cover, at the height of a few inches, by pillars. This upper stone bears in the centre the heraldic shield of the Oliphants, charged with the three crescents, and around its margin runs the following inscription:—

"HIC JACET DOMINUS WILLIAMUS OLIFANT DOMINUS DE ABERDAGY QUI OBIT QUINTO DIE MENSIS FEBRUARI MILL CCC VIGESIMO NONO ORATE PRO ANIMA EJUS."

Here the valiant Governor of Stirling was laid to his rest. Lord Byron says of Petrarch:—

* The official duplicate copy, retained for preservation in Scotland, of "this venerable record, and precious declaration of Scotch independence, written on a sheet of vellum, and authenticated by the dependant seals of its patriotic authors," is now deposited in the General Register House; but before coming there, it "was detected by a deceased Scotch nobleman in a most precarious situation; for he discovered it ruthlessly stuck into the fire-place of his charter-room."—*Sir J. Y. Simpson's Address on "Archæology:"* 1861.

They keep his dust in Arqua, where he died ;
 The mountain-village where his latter days
 Went down the vale of years; and 'tis their pride—
 An honest pride—and let it be their praise,
 To offer to the passing stranger's gaze
 His mansion and his sepulchre.

And so the dust of a gallant Scottish soldier is kept in the "God's acre" of the country parish which once formed his Lordship, and where his fame still lives in the remembrance of the humblest peasant.

The patriot left a son, Walter, who succeeded him. It was Walter's destiny to be honoured by an alliance with the blood-royal of Scotland. The hand of Elizabeth Bruce, the youngest daughter of King Robert, was bestowed upon him; and in 1364, David II. granted a Charter confirming the lands of Gask to him and to "Elizabeth, his wife, our beloved sister." Shortly afterwards the lands of Aberdalgie and Dupplin were also confirmed to Walter. He was succeeded by his son, Walter, who married Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Erskine, and was succeeded by his eldest son, John, who was knighted by Robert II. With the Drummonds of Strathearn, Sir John formed the closest friendship. In 1413 he supported Sir John Drummond, the Steward of Strathearn, against the attempt of the Earl of Strathearn to thrust him out of that office, and which resulted in the Earl's slaughter. After the holding of the Stewardry Court at the Skeat of Crieff, the Drummonds and their allies advanced to meet their enemy and his following, and, encountering them at Ferntower, made a furious onset, and slew the Earl. Sir John Oliphant died about 1420, and was succeeded by his eldest son, William, who was one of the Scottish hostages for the ransom of James I. On Sir William's death, he was succeeded by his son, Sir John, who ultimately fell in one of those baronial feuds which so frequently disturbed the peace of the country. He wedded the daughter of Sir Walter Ogilvie of Auchterhouse, and had two sons, Laurence and Thomas, and two daughters; but it was owing to this marriage that he met an untimely fate. Towards the

close of the year 1445, the houses of Lindsay and Ogilvie fell at variance. Alexander Lindsay, Master of Crawford, had been appointed by the Abbot and Convent of Arbroath as Justiciar of the Abbey Regality; but his oppressive conduct caused the monks to displace him, and they gave the office to Alexander Ogilvie of Innerquharity. Thereupon ensued wrath and war. In the month of January, 1445-46, the aggrieved Master came upon the Abbey with 1000 men, and occupied it in vindication of his alleged rights. Instantly the Ogilvies gathered together their forces, and hastened to expel him. Sir John Oliphant of Aberdalgie, from his marital connection, brought his retainers to the Ogilvie muster. A battle took place at the Abbey, on Sunday, the 9th of the month, when the Ogilvies were defeated with the dire loss of 500 killed and wounded; and among the slain was the knight of Aberdalgie. The *Auchinleck Chronicle* says:—

The year of God 1445, the 23d day of Januar [date wrong], the Earl of Huntly and the Ogilvies with him on the ta part, and the Earl of Crawford on the tother part, met at the yetts of Arbroath, on ane Sunday late, and fought. And the Earl of Huntly and Wat Ogilvie fled. And there was slain on their party, Sir John Oliphant, Laird of Aberdalgy, Sir William Forbes, Sir Alexander Barclay, Alexander Ogilvie, David of Aberkerdach, with other sundry. And on the tother part, the Earl of Crawfordd himself was hurt on the field, and died within viii. days. [He died on the 17th.] But he and his son wan the field and held it, and after that, a great time, held the Ogilvies at great subjection, and took their gudes and destroyed their places.

Laurence, the eldest son of the slain knight of Aberdalgie, came to the inheritance, and had the fortune to be raised to the rank of nobility. This elevation was just; for the blood of the Bruce ran in his veins, and his family had deserved well of their country. He was “a man of fine natural parts,” it is said, “which were greatly improved by a liberal education and travelling.” His talents made him a statesman. He was much esteemed by James II., who about the year 1458 conferred on him a Peerage by the title of *Lord Oliphant*. Other honours followed. James IV.

appointed him a Lord of the Articles, a Privy Councillor, and one of the Justiciars south of the Forth. Lord Oliphant was also employed in negotiations with England. In 1484, he was one of the Scottish Ambassadors who concluded a peace with England at Nottingham; and he afterwards, in 1491, was Ambassador and concluded another peace with the same kingdom. His position in Scotland was high, and his influence far extended. "There is nothing manifests the power and greatness of this noble Lord more," says Sir Robert Douglas, "than the Bonds of Manrent he had of many gentlemen of the first rank, who were obliged to attend and serve him in peace and war, when required." Fifteen of these bonds are still preserved in the archives of Gask, and were granted by the Lairds of Balthayock, Gorthy, Balleif, Innerpeffray, Duncrub, Rattray, Cultmalundie, &c. We shall quote one—that granted by Robert Mercer of Balleif, burgess and afterwards Provost of Perth, who was a scion of the Meikleour and Aldie family: but in quoting the document, we take the liberty of modernizing the orthography:—

BOND OF MANRENT; or, "ENDENTUR be Robert Mersar, lard of balife," to Laurence Lord Oliphant, dated 6th August, 1468.

This Indenture made at Perth the vi day of the month of August, the year of God a thousand four hundred sixty and eight years, bears witness that it is appointed and accorded betwixt an honourable and a mighty lord, Laurence Lord Oliphant, on the ta part, and a worshipful man, Robert Mersar of Balleff, burgess of Perth, on the tother part, in manner, form, and effect, as after follows: that is to say, that the said Robert is become man to the foresaid Laurence Lord Oliphant, for all the terms and days of eleven year next after following the date of thir present letters, in contra all manner of men, excepting our sovereign lord the King, and is aefauldly obliged to abide at him and his quarrels, and till do him service, sic like as effeirs till him till do til his lord, without fraud or guile: for the whilk the foresaid Laurence Lord Oliphant is obliged to maintain, help, supply, and defend the foresaid Robert in all his gudly quarrels, as effeirs, and as his lord should do of reason till him, without fraud or guile: And attour it is appointed and accorded betwixt the foresaid Lord and the said Robert, anent the said Robert's fee, that gif the said Lord charges the said Robert in ony great

travels wherethrough the said Robert sustains great surfat costs in his service, mair than the said Lord makes in his good lordship doing through his travel in helping, maintaining, supplying, and defending of the said Robert in his quarrels, that it shall be considered of the said Robert's fee, whilk shall be given till him, by thir persons under-written, that is to say, James Herying, son and apparent heir till David Herying of Lethinde, John of Chamer of Strathe, and Robert Mersar, son till Andro Mersar of Mekyllour : and for the mair sickness of thir appointments foresaid, the seal of the said Laurence Lord Oliphant to the part remaining with the said Robert is affixed, and the seal of the said Robert to the part remaining with the said Lord Oliphant is affixed, year, day, and place before expressed.

But what intimately associates the memory of Lord Oliphant with the history of Perth is the fact that a year or two after his attainment of the Peerage he founded a religious house at that town. This was the Franciscan or Greyfriars' Monastery, which was founded by him in 1460. The edifice stood on ground, which was devoted in 1580 to the purposes of a cemetery, immediately beyond the city walls, and near their south-east angle. The Franciscans were invited into Scotland by James I.; and previous to the year 1460 only two houses of the order had been established in this kingdom—one at Edinburgh in 1446, and the other at Aberdeen in 1450. All the records belonging to the Greyfriars Monastery at Perth seem to have perished in the tumults of the Reformation time, so that nothing is known concerning its condition during the century it existed.

Another member of the Oliphant family is mentioned as having founded Obits (anniversary services for the dead) in St John's Church and St Ann's Chapel, Perth. Thomas Oliphant of Dron, the younger brother of Laurence, first Lord Oliphant, died on 11th December, 1474, and left as an Obit in St John's Church, the sum of £2, of which 26s 8d were to be paid out of the lands of Wester Dron and Kintilloch, and 13s 4d out of a tenement on the east side of the Kirkgate of Perth : each officiating chorister to receive twelve pennies, and each foundation chaplain who joined in the service eight pennies. He also left as an Obit in St Ann's

Chapel, which stood on the south side of the Parish Church, the sum of £1 out of a tenement on the south side of the North Street or High Street.*

* Douglas' *Peerage of Scotland*; Ferguson's *English Surnames*, p. 162; *Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar-Angus (Grampian Club)*, vol. i., pp. xvi., 331; Tytler's *History of Scotland*; Rev. A. Low's *Scottish Heroes in the Days of Wallace and Bruce*; Innes' *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, p. 165; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i., part 1st, p. 14; Spottiswoode's *Account of the Religious Houses in Scotland*; Lawson's *Book of Perth*.

PASSAGES IN THE HISTORY OF THE
OLIPHANTS.—Part 2d.

—Tell red Flodden's dismal tale.

Marmion.

Great bangs of bodies, thick and rife,

* * * * *

And wi' John Calvin i' their heads,
And hammers in their hands, and spades,
Enrag'd at idols, mass, and beads,
Dang the Cathedral down.

Professor Tennant's "Papistry Storm'd."

THE spouse of the first Lord Oliphant was the lady Isabel Hay, daughter of William, Earl of Errol, by whom he had three sons, John, George, and William. The second son, George, married the only daughter and heiress of Sutherland of Duffus: and on 12th August, 1497, a Royal Charter was granted by James IV. in favour of George Oliphant and Lady Duffus, his spouse, of the lands of Duffus, Berridale, Auldwick, and Strabrock. There were two ancient and strong castles at Berridale and Auldwick, both of which will be heard of again in the course of our present chapter. Lord Oliphant died sometime previous to 8th April, 1500, of which date an Indenture of Friendship was subscribed at Inchaffray by his eldest son, John, as Lord Oliphant, and William, Lord Graham, binding themselves to stand by each other during their lives.

John, second Lord Oliphant, married the Lady Elizabeth Campbell, daughter of the first Earl of Argyle, who bore two sons, Colin and Laurence. Colin, Master of Oliphant, wedded Elizabeth Keith, and had two sons, Laurence and William. Laurence, the brother of Colin, devoted himself to the Church, embraced the monastic life, and was raised to the dignity of Abbot of Inchaffray, in Strathearn. He was appointed to this great Abbacy, on the resignation of his predecessor, by Bull of Provision from Pope Alexander VI., dated 16th November, 1495. Lord Oliphant sat in the Scottish

Parliament of 13th May, 1504, which settled the jointure of Margaret, Queen of James IV. During the next four years, the old friendship between the Oliphants and the Drummonds was broken up by some variance concerning the rights or boundaries of their conterminous lands; and Lord Oliphant had also feud with the Earl of Buchan, consequent on the slaughter of one of the Oliphant race. These quarrels appear from the Register of the Privy Seal, which contains, under date 13th September, 1508, a "Remission to John, Lord Oliphant, and two others, for art and part of the oppression done to John, Lord Drummond, by destroying and casting down the dikes between the lands of Drumane and Balloch : and for forethought felony done to umquhile John, Earl of Buchan, done within the burgh of Perth, after the slaughter of James Oliphant of Arquhelzie, committed by the said Earl and his accomplices : and for all other oppressions, forethought felonies, actions, and crimes." But a deep sorrow, a great bereavement, was impending over Lord Oliphant. On war being declared against England in 1513, his two sons, the Master and the Abbot, joined the army that marched to Flodden. They fought in the battle, and were both slain. Altogether four Scottish ecclesiastics fell in arms on this fatal field, namely, the Archbishop of St Andrews (natural son of the King), the Bishop of the Isles, the Abbot of Inchaffray, and the Abbot of Kilwinning. This heavy stroke doubtless cast a settled gloom over the remainder of Lord Oliphant's days. He did not long survive to mourn over the affliction; for he died in 1516, when he was succeeded by his eldest grandson, Laurence. The other grandson, William, was the founder of the Gask branch.

Laurence, third Lord Oliphant, was married to Margaret, daughter of Sir James Sandilands of Calder, by whom he had two sons and several daughters. The eldest son was named Laurence. The second, Peter, received from his father the lands of Turing and Drumie, part of the dowry bestowed by King Robert Bruce upon his daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, when

she gave her hand to Sir Walter Oliphant. About the year 1526, Andrew Oliphant, the only son of the Duffus branch, having no male issue, executed an agreement, whereby he resigned his lands in Caithness to his kinsman, Lord Oliphant, upon condition that the latter should provide suitable matches and tochers for his, the granter's three daughters : upon which resignation a charter was given by James V. in favour of Lord Oliphant, of the lands of Berridale, Auldwick, &c., dated 20th May, 1526. Nothing further of note occurs in Lord Oliphant's career until we find him, in 1542, with the ill-fated Scottish army, whose shameful rout, in the face of the English, at Solway Moss, threw James V. into that fit of despair which cost him his life. Many of the Scottish nobles were taken prisoners—in fact, they rather courted capture than otherwise; and among the rest was Lord Oliphant. These Lords were carried into England, and Lord Oliphant was committed to the keeping of Sir Thomas Lee. It was presumed that, according to the uniform practice in such cases, the Scottish prisoners would be held to ransom. But Henry VIII. had concocted a subtle project for acquiring absolute dominion over Scotland by bringing about the union of his young son, Prince Edward, with the infant Mary, the tidings of whose birth were announced to her hapless father in his last moments, drawing from him the sad exclamation, that the Scottish crown would “end as it began : it came with a lass, and it will go with a lass !” The bluff tyrant eagerly embraced the opportunity of endeavouring to sway the minds of the captives in favour of his scheme. He called them before him,—opened his mind,—exerted all his arts of persuasion,—offered them freedom if they signed a document whereby they acknowledged him as Lord Paramount of Scotland (the old and baseless assumption of Edward I.), and bound themselves to promote the marriage of the two royal children,—and to advocate and support the placing of all the Scottish Castles into his hands, and also the custody of the infant Queen. If they consented to all

this, and confirmed their subscriptions by a solemn oath, they should be released; nevertheless, in pledge of their good faith, they would require to leave their eldest sons as hostages in England. Rejection of these terms would entail their continued imprisonment. Five of the captives, "unable," says the historian, "to endure the thoughts of remaining in England," did as Henry wished. They signed the paper, and took the oath. These were the Earls of Glencairn and Cassillis, and the Lords Maxwell, Somerville, and Oliphant. The compact was kept a secret; and the five nobles, having produced their hostages, were liberated in December, and returned home. "On their arrival," says the historian, "they cautiously abstained from revealing the full extent of their obligation, and spoke in general terms upon the advantages to be derived from the marriage with England." The rest of the Solway prisoners, refusing to compromise their duty to their country, remained where they were.

The marriage never took place; but the Solway disaster proved the beginning of a long era of confusion in Scotland. For a space the aggressive policy of King Henry exposed the country to warfare. But other causes were at work. The Reformation made rapid progress, and at length came the hour when the Romish Church was overthrown in utter ruin. Lord Oliphant lived to see the Franciscan Monastery, which his ancestor had founded a century before, levelled with the ground. It was the first ecclesiastical building at Perth which was attacked by the mob, after the tumult in St John's Church, on Thursday, 11th May, 1559, when John Knox preached his sermon, "which was vehement against idolatry." The roused throng, having thrown down the images and altars in the Church, were only whetted for more destruction. The Greyfriars Monastery being nearest to hand, they rushed thither like an angry tide, and though the friars had hired guards to defend the house, yet resistance was found useless, and the crowd broke in, and tore down everything. "The rascal multitude," says Knox, in his *History*, "did run without

deliberation to the grey and black friars; and notwithstanding that they had within them very stark guards kept for their defence, yet were their gates incontinent burst up. The first invasion was upon the idolatry; and thereafter the common people began to seek some spoil. And in very deed the Greyfriars was a place [so] well provided, that unless honest men had seen the same, we would have feared to report what provision they had; their sheets, blankets, beds, and coverlets were such, that no Earl in Scotland had the better; their napery was fine; they were but eight persons in convent, and yet had eight puncheons of salt beef,—consider the time of the year, the 11th of May,—wine, beer, and ale, besides store of victuals effeiring thereto. The like abundance was not in the Blackfriars, and yet there was more than became men professing poverty. The spoil was permitted to the poor; for so had the preachers before threatened all men, that for covetousness' sake none should put their hand to such a reformation, that no honest man was enriched thereby the value of a groat. The Prior of Charterhouse was permitted to take with him even so much gold and silver as he was well able to carry. So were men's consciences before beaten with the Word, that they had no respect to their own particular profit, but only to abolish idolatry, the places and monuments thereof; in which they were so busy and so laborious, that within two days these three great places, monuments of idolatry, to wit the Black and Grey friars, and the Charterhouse monks, a building of a wondrous cost and greatness, was so destroyed that the walls only did remain of all these great edifications." Thus the nests were pulled down, and the rooks flew away: and of the stately memorial of the first Lord Oliphant's piety and munificence, not one stone was left standing upon another! The grounds of the demolished monastery apparently lay vacant until the end of 1580, when on 20th December, the Kirk-session, as Hospital Managers, ordained "that in all times coming the yard in the Greyfriars to be burial, and further that the outer yett which is pendit [arched] be transported to the inner

yett." This appropriation was probably made in imitation of what had been done in the capital eighteen years previously, when on 17th August, 1562, Queen Mary, in answer to a memorial of the Edinburgh Town Council, granted the "yard" of the Greyfriars Monastery, as a public place of interment.

From all that we can gather it would appear that Lord Oliphant favoured the triumphant cause of the Reformation; but his name does not occur prominently in the annals of those times. Nor did he live many years after that great revolution. When his life was near its close, a trouble arose on his lands in Caithness, of which he did not see the end. He died on 26th March, 1566, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Laurence, who was served heir to his father in the following September. Laurence, fourth Lord Oliphant had some part in the national affairs,—his sympathies tending towards the cause of Queen Mary. He married Lady Margaret Hay, daughter of George, seventh Earl of Errol, who brought him two sons, Laurence and John, and three daughters, the eldest of whom, Elizabeth, became the wife of the Earl of Angus.

The Caithness trouble which we have spoken of was occasioned by some of the Sutherlands in Duffus falling out with certain of their neighbours, whom they attacked, on 17th August, 1565, killing seven persons, as was alleged, and setting fire to a dwelling-house. These enormities moved the Earl of Caithness, "Justice constitute in that part," to pursue the perpetrators; but they, remaining at large, "haunted and repaired within the house, place, and fortalice of Berridale, pertaining to Lord Oliphant, so that they could not be gotten nor apprehended to be punished for the crimes foresaid." The Earl failed to lay hands on them; but he seized the fortalice, and garrisoned it with his own servants. The garrison did not keep it long. The ejected Sutherlands, on 23d December, came under silence of night to the place, "and lay in quiet manner thereabout, and deceitfully took the same; and after that they had entered therein, they cruelly slew umquhile Gillepatrick

M'Anuldonich, one of the keepers of the said house, place, and fortalice of Berridale, hurt and wounded divers other keepers of the same," and held them in prison and captivity. At this ugly stage, the business found its way to the Privy Council, sitting in Edinburgh, on 15th April, 1566, when Laurence, Master of Oliphant (who had now succeeded his father), was ordered to receive the fortalice of Berridale out of the hands of its illegal keepers, they being at the same time ordained to deliver it over to him within 24 hours after being so charged; and the Council also ordered the said rebels to appear and answer for themselves at Edinburgh. In all probability, Lord Oliphant obtained possession of the strength as directed; but it is not likely that the "rebels" risked their necks by coming south.

We next hear of a quarrel betwixt Lord Oliphant and the Laird of Cultmalundie, and of violence, or attempted violence, ensuing therefrom. At the Court of Justiciary, on 14th November, 1566, "Laurence Bruce of Colpmalindies found Sir Hew Kennedy of Girwanmains, knight, surety for his entry, on Nov. 27, to underly the law for art and part of convocation of the lieges, and unbesetting the gate to Laurence Lord Oliphant for his slaughter." Despite this feud, one of Lord Oliphant's daughters, Jean, was married to Alexander Bruce of Cultmalundie.

A national crisis was now evolved. In February 1566-67, Darnley was assassinated in the Kirk-of-Field: in May, the widowed Mary wedded Bothwell: then came her imprisonment in the Castle of Lochleven,—her romantic escape,—the muster in the west,—the disastrous defeat at Langside,—and the fatal flight of the crownless Queen to England. Lord Oliphant, as we have said, favoured the cause of Mary, to whom he owed his promotion to the Privy Council. On the 16th May, 1567, at Edinburgh, John, Archbishop of St Andrews, and Laurence, Lord Oliphant, were chosen and admitted by the Queen's Majesty to be of her Privy Council, and gave their oath as use is. Oliphant, however, had no share in the

rising which was crushed at Langside; but he was regarded with grave suspicion by the Regent Moray and his faction; and at Stirling, on 2d August, 1568, three months after the battle, the Privy Council took up Lord Oliphant's case. "The whilk day," says the Register, "Laurence Lord Oliphant, being oftentimes called to compear before my Lord Regent's Grace and Lords of Secret Council, to answer to sic things as should be laid to his charge,—as he was lawfully charged thereto by virtue of our Sovereign Lord's letters upon six days' warning,—under the pain of rebellion and putting of him to the horn: And the said Lord not compearing, my Lord Regent's Grace and Lords of Secret Counsel ordains the said letters to be put to execution, and the said Laurence Lord Oliphant to be orderly denounced rebel and put to the horn, and all his moveable goods escheated and inbrought to our Sovereign Lord's use for his contemption, after the form and tenor of the said letters." This sweeping denunciation was seemingly obviated by timely submission to the dominant faction, with whom it would have been the height of folly to contend. Lord Oliphant was one of a number of nobles and others, who appeared before the Privy Council, at Stirling, on 16th February, 1568-69, "and exponed and declared how they had continued faithful and obedient subjects to our Sovereign Lord and his authority; for the whilk cause they, their lands, rooms, and possessions were and are in utter peril and danger to be invaded and pursued with fire, sword, and all other kind of hostility by George, Earl of Huntly, his assisters and accomplices, rebellious and disobedient subjects against our sovereign Lord and his authority:" whereupon a Commission was given them to resist and pursue the said Earl. On the 15th April thereafter, Lord Oliphant adhibited his name to the Bond of Allegiance to King James, which was subscribed that day by various persons of note.

During the summer of 1569, Lord Oliphant attended the Regent Moray on his sudden march to the north to

reduce that portion of the country to obedience, and, parting from him at Inverness, after the object of the expedition was attained, made a visit to his lands in Caithness. One day Lord Oliphant was in Wick, and having dined in the house of a certain friend, Mr Thomas Keir, strolled out with his host and several retainers "to the fields in pastime convenient,"—to seek recreation in the fine summer weather. The party had not been long abroad when they were met by Andrew Keith, in Subister, William Sutherland, younger of Clyne, his brother John, and about twenty more. Keith, who seems to have been familiarly acquainted with Lord Oliphant, exchanged a few friendly words with him, but presently fell foul of his Lordship's host, Mr Thomas Keir, with whom he was at variance, and, drawing a whinger, threatened to stab him. Oliphant endeavoured by fair words to appease the strife; but the rest of Keith's company unsheathed their swords and threatened a general attack, though after all they did no violence. Lord Oliphant, dreading nothing farther, went home to his Castle of Auldwick; but after supper word was brought him that Keith and a band of about forty armed adherents were proceeding to attack Weir's house in Wick. On hearing these tidings, his Lordship sent a company of his servants to Weir's domicile to protect him; but when they came there they saw no appearance of enemies, and found him just going quietly to bed. Concluding that the alarm was false, they turned home again; but in passing through the town they discovered Keith and a band of confederates "standing in arrayed battle" at the Market Cross of the burgh, and amongst them seven bowmen. Without any provocation given—without a word being spoken, the seven archers drew their bows, and let fly their arrows, thereby wounding seven of the Oliphant men, all of whom now stood to their defence. A skirmish took place, in the midst of which Keith's supporter, John Sutherland, was struck down and killed. The Oliphant men made good their way home; but during the night Keith revenged himself upon his

Lordship's lands; and next morning, Alexander Sutherland, the slain man's brother, continued the foray, and took prisoner some of the Oliphant servants. At noon, same day, the Master of Caithness, with "a great number of armed men" at his back, came and laid siege to the Castle of Auldwick. The quarrel had now waxed into open war. For whole eight days Lord Oliphant was besieged in his place of strength, until "in default of vivers (provisions), especially water, they were constrained for safety of their lives to become in will." Meanwhile the Master's father, the Earl of Caithness, "as Justice of that shire, and his said son as Depute," charged several of the Oliphant retainers to find surety to underly the law for the slaughter of the man in the fray at Wick Market Cross. Lord Oliphant offered himself as surety, but was rejected: and he was at length compelled to deliver over five persons, namely, Sir James Laing, Patrick Ochterlony, Mr Thomas Keir (who had apparently fled to Auldwick Castle for protection), John Keir, and John Law, messenger, who were taken into custody by the enemy, and confined with the view of being put to an Assize, before the said Earl, for John Sutherland's death.

Peace being thus restored at Auldwick Castle, Lord Oliphant returned to the south, and was present at the Convention of Nobles and Commissioners of Burghs held by the Regent Moray, in the city of Perth, on the 28th July, 1569, for the general settlement of the troubles of the kingdom. At this Convention a proposition was brought forward in Queen Mary's interest to promote her legal divorce from Bothwell, in connection with the secret design of her union with the Duke of Norfolk. The application was formally tabled by Lord Boyd, in the shape of "ane Procuratory subscribed by the Queen, mother to the King our Sovereign, for pursuing of an action of divorce in her name against James, sometime Earl of Bothwell, requiring that commandment might be given to the Commissaries of Edinburgh and others to give summons at her instance in

the said matter." But this Procuratory was received with scant favour. The project involved the restoration of the Queen, and a joint-sovereignty with her son. When the Convention voted upon it, 40 votes were given against it, and only 8 in its support. Lord Oliphant was with the majority.

But the Auldwick feud was not forgotten. Lord Oliphant had taken due steps, and his complaint came before the Privy Council, at Kelso, on the 12th October 1569, representing that, as the Earl of Caithness still detained his five prisoners, and intended to bring them to trial before his own Court, he "ought not to be suffered to proceed in the said matter, but should be discharged thereof," and the persons be "presented before the Justice-General and his Deputes, that trial may be taken and justice administered as effeirs,"—the said Earl being "all utterly partial," as the slain man was of kin to him. The wonder was that, in the wild and turbulent north, the captives had not been destroyed, with or without colour of law, long ere this time. Lord Oliphant was present to urge his cause; but Caithness appeared by his procurator, Mr Clement Little, an able lawyer of the day. The Council came to a reasonable conclusion. The Regent Moray, who had only the Commendators of Newbottle and Coldingham sitting with him, considering "the matter great and weighty, and he to be solitary, the noblemen and others of our Sovereign Lord's Privy Council being for the maist part absent," continued the case till the 22d of November, when the said Earl was charged to attend and "hear and see the persons taken, apprehended, and presently captive for the said alleged crimes exempted from him and his jurisdiction to the Justice-General and his deputes." Accordingly the case was resumed before the Privy Council, at Edinburgh, on the day appointed, when Oliphant was again personally present, but Caithness by his procurator. The Regent had now with him the Earls of Morton, Mar, and Buchan, Lords Ruthven, Lindsay, Glammis, and Ochiltree, and other members: and the decision

arrived at was unfavourable to Lord Oliphant. Four persons named were ordered to be commissioned by the Earl of Caithness, as his deputies, to try the prisoners in Caithness, on 20th January following : and it was also ordained that Lord Oliphant should be tried by his Peers, within the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, before the Justice-General. But we cannot tell if these trials took place, as we have fallen upon no record that they did so.*

* Douglas' *Peerage of Scotland*; Mackay's *History of the House and Clan of Mackay*, pp. 42, 43; *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 167; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i., part 1st, pp. 108, 488; *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask* (Grampian Club); Tytler's *History of Scotland*; Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society), vol. i., pp. 150, 153; Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, Book II.; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 447-450, 509, 633, 645, 654, vol. ii., pp. 2, 8, 37-40, 57-58.

*PASSAGES IN THE HISTORY OF THE
OLIPHANTS.—Part 3d.*

Feuds, factions, enmities, relationships,
Loves, hatreds, sympathies, antipathies,
And all the intricate stuff quarrels are made of.

Charles Lamb's "John Woodvil."

The assassination of the Regent Moray in January, 1569-70, threw the affairs of Scotland into absolute chaos. The country was divided into two furious factions—the King's-men and the Queen's-men, and in fact at this crisis the latter were strong in numbers and influence, and seemed the likelier to prevail—having with them the bravest captain of the age, Kirkaldy of Grange, and the greatest Scottish statesman, Maitland of Lethington, besides being possessed of the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton. The nation was without any head, save a young boy, from Moray's death to the 16th of June, when the boy's grandfather, the Duke of Lennox, was made Lieutenant Governor of the kingdom. On the 12th July, Lennox was raised to the Regency. During the interval the Queen's-men were busily strengthening their position; and it would appear that Lord Oliphant was counted of this party. At all events, a letter which they addressed to Elizabeth of England, pointing out the desirability of her favouring the return of Mary to her kingdom, for the sake of the two countries, dated in the end of March, 1570, bears the name of Lord Oliphant among the other signatures. The letter concluded by telling Elizabeth that "unprofitable it will prove in the end, if your Majesty shall join your fortune with a small portion of this realm, where ye may have the whole at your devotion if ye will; to wit, if ye go about to unite us as one flock, under the obedience of one head, by entering in conditions with the Queen of Scotland, whereby the different claims betwixt her Highness and her son may cease from henceforth. In doing whereof, your

Majesty shall oblige us (and so we protest) to do unto your Highness what service we shall be able, standing with our obedience due to our sovereign." As to the signatures, however, Calderwood, the historian, says "it was dyted by the Secretar," Lethington; and "they set to the names of some who had no meddling with them in the subscriptions, to make the Queen of England believe that their number was greater nor it was": so that Lord Oliphant's name might have been one of those added; for we do not find him openly supporting that side, though his sympathies probably tended that way.

The Regency of Lennox did not last long. He had called a Parliament at Stirling, and on the morning of the 4th of September, 1571, a party of Queen's-men, despatched from Edinburgh, seized the town of Stirling, and made prisoners of the Regent and a number of his lords. In the confusion on the street, and while the garrison of the Castle, led by the Earl of Mar, made an attack upon the invaders, the unfortunate Regent was stabbed by Captain Calder, to prevent his rescue, and he died of his wound in the evening. Next day the Earl of Mar was elected Regent in his room.

In the same month which opened with the bloody conflict in Stirling, Lord Oliphant had feud with some of his neighbouring lairds. A fierce quarrel broke out between the Oliphants and a branch of the Rosses of Craigie. A party of the Oliphants, consisting of Peter Oliphant of Turings; John Oliphant, notary public; Laurence Oliphant, son of Thomas Oliphant, portioner of Williamston; James Oliphant, servant of the said Peter Oliphant; John Menteith, and six others, servants to Lord Oliphant, &c., had, in some fray, on the 20th September, killed James Ross, son of the deceased Thomas Ross of Maitlands. In revenge of this deed, the friends of the victim promptly bestirred themselves, collected their forces, and on the 22d committed outrages at Dupplin, the seat of Lord Oliphant. For this violence the following persons were charged before the Court of Justiciary, viz.:—James Ross and William

Ross, brothers to John Ross of Craigie; Alexander Moncreiff, in the Kirkton of Malor; John Moncreiff, his son; — Rattray, apparent of Kinvaid; John Barclay of Strowie; George Stewart of Ardinculye; Hugh Moncreiff in Hiltoun; Walter and Andrew Moncreiff, his sons; John Ross of Craigie; William Lord Ruthven, and Henry Lord Methven, with several others of less note. It was alleged that the whole company, to the number of 200 persons, all in arms, came upon the lands pertaining to Laurence Lord Oliphant, called the lands of Dupplin and Aberdalgie, lying within the sheriffdom of Perth; and there, perforce, took John Mule, servant to William Oliphant, Thomas Miller at the Kirk of Dupplin, and others, furth of their own houses and other parts, where they were doing their lawful business for the time, and led them as captives and prisoners to the town of Perth, where they held and detained them bound in irons for the space of twenty days: that at the same time the said aggressors besieged the place of Dupplin, purposely to have slain Lord Oliphant: and, moreover, that, in the month of July previous, the same persons, or some of them, entered by force into the place and fortalice of Malor, and struck Jane Hepburn, spouse to Peter Oliphant of Turings, and violently put her out of the same: which latter misdemeanour, we may suspect, was probably the cause of the broil in which James Ross of Maitlands lost his life on the 20th September. Lord Ruthven and the others duly appeared before the Court, which was held in the Tolbooth of Leith on the 12th November, 1571; but there was no trial, as a private arrangement had been effected. The accused asked instruments that they were ready to underly the law for the said crimes, and offered themselves to the knowledge of an Assize for the same; and, moreover, protested, in respect of the said Lord Oliphant's declaration, made in judgment, that he would nowise pursue them therefor. On the same day, the parties charged with the death of James Ross were called, but they not being forthcoming, Lord Oliphant, who had become their surety, was

fined in the sums of £100, 600 merks, and £160 for their non-appearance. The Justice likewise adjudged the panels to be denounced rebels, and all their moveable goods to be confiscated to the King's use, as fugitives from the law.

Three days afterwards Lord Oliphant was cited before the Privy Council, concerning the custody of a "Border pledge." It appeared that, on the 3rd of November, certain Border mosstroopers—"John Graham, called the Prior's John, and his bairns, with certain outlaws and broken men, both of England and Scotland," fell upon the lands of John Jardine of Applegirth, and there "brunt 2000 threaves of corn, fourscore kine and oxen, and two servants to the death, as also carried away and took with them Alexander Jardine, brother to the said John," whom they detained as a prisoner. The aggrieved laird came before the Privy Council, at Leith, on 15th November, when his complaint was considered. He stated that one of Prior's John's bairns, a son, had previously been delivered by his father, as a pledge or hostage for his good behaviour, into the hands of the late Regent Moray, who had given him over to Lord Oliphant to detain him; but that the said Lord had, notwithstanding "letten him to freedom and liberty without any command given to him thereto; and therefore, according to equity and gude conscience, the said Lord ought to answer for all attempts done since the said pledge's liberty, seeing nothing had been attempted if he had been kept." Lord Oliphant was represented by Thomas Oliphant of Williamston, who explained "that the said pledge was lettin to liberty and freedom out of hands of the said Lord Oliphant upon sufficient warrant." The Council were unsatisfied with this answer, and, therefore, assigned "to the said Lord Oliphant the last day of November instant, to present the said pledge or sufficient warrant and discharge for his relief and liberty, under the pain of rebellion and putting of the said Lord to the horn." On the 1st of December, Thomas Oliphant came forward and proved that his previous statement was correct by producing

an act of the Council bearing that John Graham, third son of Prior's John, had been substituted for his brother, William Graham, the original pledge, and was committed to the keeping of the Commendator of Jedburgh. The Council consequently discharged Lord Oliphant from all responsibility, and ordained the Commendator to produce the "bairn"

The friends of James Ross of Maitlands, who was killed by a party of the Oliphants, at length accused Lord Oliphant of the deed. He made light of the accusation, which was undoubtedly false; but the parties were persistent, and on 6th May, 1573, he was indicted before the Court of Justiciary, for the slaughter. No assize or jury compeared to try the case, which, on the caution of the Master of Marischal, was adjourned "to the third day of the next air (or Court) of Perth, on 15 days warning." But of the result at Perth, or anywhere else, we know nothing. In all probability, the charge fell to the ground.

In 1574 Lord Oliphant was at law with the Earl of Caithness, presumably on some point of the old quarrel; and this was preferable to trying conclusions with the sword. But in 1580 the Oliphants were involved in an affair of a serious character. They were on bad terms with the Ruthven family, the head of which house was William, Lord Ruthven, Treasurer of Scotland, and afterwards created first Earl of Gowrie,—the ground of variance being a question about some teinds. In that age, scarcely any dispute could exist between high personages, without blows being freely exchanged upon it, and so it chanced now with Oliphant and Ruthven. This broil became remarkable from the circumstance that it was the cause of an irremediable breach of the long-existing friendship betwixt Ruthven and the famous Earl of Morton, formerly Regent, and who at this juncture was tottering to his fall.

The Earl of Mar was married, in the end of October, at Kincardine, a seat of the Earl of Montrose. The wedding was attended by many noble guests, and among others by Lord Ruthven; but Lord Oliphant was

not present. On Lord Ruthven's return with his retinue, his way home led him, on the 1st of November, near Dupplin, and accordingly, not designing anything offensive, his party, consisting of about 70 or 80 followers, passed rather closely to Dupplin, and their near approach was interpreted by the Oliphants as being a sort of bravado—at least, Laurence, Master of Oliphant, took this view of the case. While the Ruthven train went slowly by, the wrathful Master summoned his retainers, and, issuing forth at their head on horseback, hastened to wipe out by hard blows the fancied affront. At this prospect of hostilities, the greater part of Lord Ruthven's attendants broke into headlong flight, and he himself was forced away along with them. Only five or six stood their ground, with no design of fighting—one of whom, Alexander Stewart of Schuittingleis, a scion of the house of Traquair, endeavoured to remonstrate with the Master to keep the peace; but as he was speaking, a hackbut or gun was fired at him, and he was shot dead. "He was slain by a shot from one that knew him not," says Godscroft, "sore against Oliphant's mind, and to his great grief." Seeing Stewart killed, his few friends avenged his fate by killing one of their opponents, named John Buchan, and then the fray seems to have ceased, and the combatants separated, each side having lost a man. Such was the strife at Dupplin. Subsequently, Lords Ruthven and Oliphant exchanged cartels of defiance, which were stopped by the Privy Council, and parties were brought to trial in December. Lord Oliphant and 41 of his followers were indicted for the murder of Alexander Stewart "with a poisoned bullet": and Ruthven and 79 others for the slaughter of John Buchan. As to the poisoned bullet, we may remark that this is the first instance in the Books of Justiciary of such a missile being used, or said to have been used, in Scotland; and a second instance occurred in 1609, when Lord Maxwell was accused of slaying the Laird of Johnstone with two lead bullets which had been previously poisoned; but it is rather incredible that the bullet which killed Stewart was

poisoned, the fray having arisen without any forethought, and the shot being fired by one of the common retainers. Some peculiar or unusual appearance of the wound after death, which medical skill could easily have explained, had in all probability occasioned the ignorant surmise.

Now took place the estrangement of Lord Ruthven from the Earl of Morton. The Master of Oliphant, says Godscroft, "had married Margaret Douglas, daughter to William Douglas of Lochleven, and now being pursued upon his life, was assisted by his father-in-law. The Earl of Morton would gladly have agreed the parties; but the fact being recent, and the Lord Ruthven, together with the friends of the gentleman that was slain, having received such an affront, there was no possibility to take it away, save by law. Wherefore Morton joined with the party that was pursued for his life, which hath ever been accounted most noble, and free from exception. Besides, Oliphant had not commanded his servant to shoot, neither did he approve it in his heart; but he thought he could not with his honour deliver one who followed him, and had done this rash act in his service, but was bound to protect him from all danger, according to his power. Notwithstanding this, Ruthven was mightily displeased with Morton for countenancing Oliphant against him; and Mr John Maitland and Sir Robert Melvil, who took part with Ruthven, blew the bellows so, that they brought him to that length, that he could very well have been contented to see Morton reduced to such a condition as that he might need his help, and be sensible of the loss of so steadable a friend." And thus it came about that the scuffle at Dupplin was an all-important factor in the downfall and destruction of Morton, once so powerful.

The criminal proceedings against the two lords came to nothing. Lord Oliphant and his party were put to the bar on the 22nd December; and an exculpatory verdict was pronounced, the Assize finding "the persons entered on panel and pursued, to be cleansed,

innocent, and acquit of art and part of the cruel slaughter and murder of umquhile Alexander Stewart of Schuittingleis, shot with ane poisoned bullet: and of the convocation of our Sovereign Lord's lieges, bodin with culverins, pistolets, jacks, spears, steel-bonnets, and other weapons invasive, in contrair the tenor of the Acts of Parliament: and siclike of unbesetting of the highway to William, Lord Ruthven, Treasurer, invading of him and his servants being in his company for their slaughters: with the haill circumstances thereof libelled, committed upon the first day of November last bypast, upon set purpose, provision, auld feud, and forethought felony." Upon this verdict being given, the persons on pannel asked instruments for their testimonial. Next day, Lord Ruthven and his company appeared to answer to their dittay; when Lord Oliphant asked instruments that he passed from the pursuit of Lord Ruthven and remanent persons on pannel, *pro loco et tempore*, and that in respect that Mr Robert Crichton, the King's Advocate, would not use the information given him, and farther protested that whatsoever thing the Advocate did in the case, should not prejudice nor hurt his action, but that when time and place should serve, he might pursue the same, according to the laws of the realm. Lord Ruthven then pled that he and the rest entered on pannel ought not to be put to the knowledge of an assize for bearing, wearing, and using of pistolets, against the late Act of Parliament libelled, in respect that he had a license granted to him by our Sovereign Lord, subscribed by two of the Council, which license he produced, desiring the same to be entered, whereof the tenor follows:—

LICENCE in favor of Williame Lord Ruthvene,
Thesaurer, &c.

We, for divers reasonable causes moving us, by the tenor hereof, gives licence and power to our right traist cousin and councillor, William, Lord Ruthven, our Treasurer, his servants, partakers, and defenders, in his company, to bear, wear, and use hagbuts, culverins, and pistolets, for his and their defence, against his enemies, notwithstanding our acts, statutes, and proclamations made in contrair, with the whilk by thir presents we dispense: discharging

our Justice, his deputes, and other judges within our realm, of any troubling, calling, or pursuing of our said cousin or his foresaids, civil or criminal, at any day or days therefore; inhibiting them thereof, and of their offices in that part, by thir presents. Subscribed with our hand at Holyroodhouse, the 23d day of October, 1580.

JAMES R.

Lenox.

James Stewart.

The assize were then sworn, and they delivered for verdict that they "found and delivered the said William, Lord Ruthven, and remanent persons not repledged, to be cleansed, innocent, and acquit of the slaughter of umquhile John Buchan, servant to Laurence, Lord Oliphant, committed with convention of our sovereign lord's lieges, by way of hame-sucken, upon the first day of November last bypast, upon set purpose, provision, auld feud, and forethought felony, seeing no verification shewn to them, nor yet no person swearing the dittay." Upon this verdict, Lord Ruthven, in his own name, and for the remanent persons on pannel, asked instruments. Finally, on the 24th December, Douglas of Lochleven became surety that Lord Oliphant would appear at the next Justiciary Court at Perth, to answer for the murder of Alexander Stewart.

But the houses of Oliphant and Ruthven soon buried their feuds and entered into firm friendship. At nine o'clock at night, on the 20th March, 1582, "the Master of Oliphant," says Calderwood, "came to the Lord Ruthven, now Earl of Gowrie, his chamber," in Edinburgh, "without sword or any other weapon, and offered himself in his will." The reconciliation bore fruit fatal to the Oliphants. The Master and his brother-in-law, Robert Douglas, the heir of Lochleven, were trusty confederates of Gowrie at the Raid of Ruthven, in August, 1582; and when the Earl of Arran was taken prisoner near Ruthven Castle, he was conveyed to Dupplin, and kept there before being carried to Stirling. For a brief space the conspirators ruled Scotland, with the King under their control; but in the end they suddenly lost all power, and the Earl

of Gowrie was beheaded at Stirling on 2d May, 1584. Shortly after the execution, "Robert Douglas, apparent heir of Lochleven, and Laurence, Master of Oliphant," says Calderwood, "were charged to depart out of the country. The Earl of Angus, when he went from Brèchin to Stirling, sent to Robert Douglas for his dependers and servants. But -- Leslie, his mother, wrote the answer, in effect, that it was not sufficient for them to take so furious a purpose in hand, to ruin themselves, but would draw her son and house to the same ruin. She denounced her malediction on him, if he took part in it, and on them, if they caused him to disobey her. The Earl, when he heard the answer, returned these words:— 'He could well believe it was through her default her son was stayed from so honourable a purpose; for he understood well enough his own inclination to be always honourable and dutiful to his friends and country.' But her house, for which she was so careful, with little care of the cause of God, smarted soon after. For her son, Robert, and her son-in-law, Laurence, Master of Oliphant, being charged to depart out of the country, obeyed, and perished by the way, and were never seen again, they, nor ship, nor any belonging thereunto. The manner is uncertain: but the most common report was, that being invaded by Hollanders or Flusingers, and fighting valiantly, slew one of the principal of their number, in revenge whereof they were all sunk; or, as others report, after they had rendered, they were hanged upon the mast of the ship. They were two youths of great expectation."

The impenetratable mystery which enshrouded the fate of his eldest son must have added to the poignancy of Lord Oliphant's grief. The ill-starred Master left by his wife, Lochleven's daughter, two children, Laurence and Ann. Lord Oliphant survived for eight years after his son's departure, and died in 1592. In the paper on "The Scottish Nobilitie in An. Dom. 1577," drawn up that year by Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet, who occupied official position in the Scottish Government.

Lord Oliphant is described as "not of great revenue, but that he hath be good lands and profitable; few gentlemen of his surname, and so of small power; yet a house very loyal to the State of Scotland, accounted no orators in their words, nor yet fools in their deeds. They do not surmount in their alliances, but content with their worshipful neighbours." Lord Oliphant was succeeded by his grandson, Laurence, who became fifth Lord Oliphant, and was married to the daughter of Lord Madderty. He had an only child, Anne. "This Lord was a bad economist," says Sir Robert Douglas, "and alienated or greatly encumbered the immense estate the family was possessed of, so that at his death there was little left, either for his daughter or the heir male." And Mr Kington-Oliphant states that "the fifth Lord, called in the Gask papers of his age, 'ane base and unworthy man,' sold his great estates in many different shires, soon after the year 1600. Gask alone was saved from the wreck, and was made over to his cousin; Dupplin and Aberdalgie came into the hands of the first Earl of Kinnoull."*

* Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 547; vol. iii., pp. 479, 596; vol. iv., p. 46. Tytler's *History of Scotland*; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i., Part 2d, pp. 25, 27, 89-92; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 96, 97, 437; Godscroft's *History of Douglas and Angus*, vol. ii., p. 267; Moyses' *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*, pp. 45, 64; Douglas' *Peerage of Scotland*; *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility* (Grampian Club), p. 18; *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*.

*PASSAGES IN THE HISTORY OF THE
OLIPHANTS.—Part 4th.*

Keep you out of prawls, and prabbles, and quarrels, and dissensions, and I warrant you, it is the petter for you.

King Henry V.

ACCORDING to the Peerage writers, Laurence, fifth Lord Oliphant, had no son; but in 1604 we hear of a "John, Master of Oliphant," whom we are at a loss to identify. Was he John Oliphant of Newland, younger son of the fourth Lord and uncle of the fifth, to whom the Oliphant lands and honours would revert on the failure of an heir male in the direct line? At all events, whoever he was, John, Master of Oliphant, was slain in a paltry brawl in the year 1604. A warrant had been issued for the apprehension of Gilbert Gray, servant to Gilbert Gray of Meikle Bandirran, for the slaughter of a certain John Shepherd, and for other crimes: and when the officers of justice, assisted by Gilbert Gray of Bandirran, Patrick, his son, and William Brown in Haggishall, went about the seizure of the servant, they were withstood by John, Master of Oliphant, and James Reid, son to David Reid of Thirdpart, both of whom lost their lives in the scuffle which they had provoked: and the Grays, father and son, and Brown, obtained a Royal Remission for their share in the fatal transaction. More than a year afterwards—in the month of September, 1605—Gilbert Gray, in North Bandirran,—presumably the same man as he of Meikle Bandirran,—met with a violent death at the hands of several persons; and the blame of the deed was laid at the door of Lord Oliphant. The affair was carried to the ears of the King, who in January, 1606, sent the following missive to the Scottish Privy Council:—

JAMES R.

Right trusty and well-beloved cousins and councillors, We greet you heartily well. Whereas it is heavily complained unto us, by Patrick Gray, of the cruel slaughter of umquhile Gilbert Gray, his father, by certain persons

specialy hounded out by Lord Oliphant, and some of them being his domestic servitors, which offence doth so much the more grieve us, that now, whereas in the late borders and in the very Highlands of that our realm there is such universal obedience, that not the less in the very heart of that country, and so near to the ordinary place of residence of our Justice there, such ane vile fact should be committed, without punishment inflicted upon the doers thereof; and that, to delude our Justice, any of our nobility there, absenting himself from the action, should hound out others to execute his private revenge, and by his crafty conveyance of the malefactors out of the way, should take away all means of the trial of his ain guiltiness in that crime; which doing, inferring so dangerous ane preparative as that nane of our subjects, gif this be not prevented, can be in surety of his life. We are therefore to recommend to your special care and diligence, as ye respect our pleasure and service, that na means be unessayed by you to bring the truth of this matter to light; for as We are most grievously offended with the crime committed, so if the doers be not apprehended, the matter wholly tried, and justice ministrat according thereto, it will so much the more di-content us. And so We bid you farewell. From our Court at Whitehall, the eight of January, 1606.

Lord Oliphant immediately found William Moncreiff of that ilk as his cautioner that he should underly the law; and on 20th March following, his Lordship was indicted before the Court of Justiciary as being art and part guilty of the murder. The private pursuers were Helen Rattray, relict of the deceased Gilbert Gray, and Patrick, Gilbert, and John Gray, his sons. Lord Oliphant attended the diet personally, and "offered himself ready to abide the trial of the law for the said alleged crimes, whereof he was most innocent;" but as the above relatives of the dead man did not appear to prosecute, his Lordship protested that "he be not called nor pursued at the instance of any party for the said crimes, in time coming." The Justice continued the case "to the third day of the next Justice-air of the Sherifffdom of Forfar, or sooner, upon 15 days warning, and ordains my Lord Oliphant to find caution for his compearance, to the effect and in manner foresaid; who found Sir George Toures of Innerleith, knight, surety for his entry, under the pains contained in the Acts of Parliament." But what happened at the Forfar Court we have not ascertained,

On the other hand, the King's Remission did not stay legal pursuit concerning the death of the Master of Oliphant and young Reid of Thirdpart. A libel had been raised against Gilbert Gray (afterwards killed), Patrick his son, and William Brown, in Haggishall. This case, too, had been brought under the eye of King James, and in May, 1604, a Royal Letter was directed to the Scottish Justiciary, of this tenor:—

JAMES R.

Justice, Justice-Clerk, and your deputes, We greet you well. Forsomeikle as it is understood to us that our other Letters are direct at the instance of the kin and friends of umquhile James Reid, son to David Reid of Thirdpart, and our Advocate for our interest, for calling of Gilbert Gray &c. to underly our laws before you, for art and part of the slaughter of the said umquhile James, as our said Letters bears; as likewise for convocation of our lieges in arms, and bearing, wearing and shooting of hagbuts and pistolets, against the tenor of our Acts of Parliament and Proclamations made and direct expressly prohibiting the same: notwithstanding being informed that the said slaughter was committed, and the said forbidden weapons borne and used, in the execution of our Commission direct for searching and apprehension of Gilbert Gray, sometime servant to Gilbert Gray of Meikle Bandirran, our denounced rebel, for the cruel slaughter of umquhile John Shepherd, for sundry crimes of theft and other odious crimes committed by him: and that umquhile John Master of Oliphant, and the said umquhile James Reid, in notwithstanding of our said Commissioners, and assisting and plain partaking with the said Gilbert, our rebel, were baith slain: for whilk bearing, wearing, and shooting with the said hagbuts and pistolets, our said Commission, containing a special Remission to our said Commissioners, and all others our subjects assisting them in execution thereof: and considering therewith that the execution of this our Commission in that sort may terrify the like malefactors to continue in their wicked deeds, contempt, and rebellion: It is therefore our Will, and We command you, that upon the sight hereof ye stay all manner of proceeding against the said Gilbert Gray of Bandirran, Patrick Gray, his son, and William Brown, for the said slaughter of the said umquhile Master of Oliphant and James Reid, the bearing, wearing, and shooting with the said hagbuts and pistolets, or any other crimes expressed in our said Letters, already raised, or to be raised, against them for the same, in time coming, so that they may enjoy the benefit of our Remission, expressed in our Commission foresaid: as ye will answer to us upon your office and obedience, whereanent this present shall be your sufficient warrant.

Given at our Court, at Whitehall, the penult day of May,
1604.

Farther proceedings seem to have lain over until 1606, when on the 22d of March—two days after Lord Oliphant's compearance—Patrick Gray and William Brown, who had previously found John Lindsay of Evelick, as their cautioner, were called to the bar of justiciary, charged with the slaughter of the Master of Oliphant and James Reid. They chose not to appear personally, but by two advocates. The private prosecutor was Hugh Reid, evidently a member of the Thirdpart family, and he was present. The King's Letter of Remission was produced by the advocates for the panels. But Mr Robert Lyntoun, substitute to the Lord-Advocate, alleged *ante omnia* that the persons pursued ought to be entered on panel; and, therefore, in respect of their non-entry, he desired of the Court that their cautioner should be unlauded, and they for their non-compearance, adjudged to be denounced rebels, and put to the horn. He maintained that in a criminal pursuit, according to the daily practice, the defenders, before any process, should be first entered. Mr John Russell, one of the advocates for the defence, pled the King's remission, and contended farther that his Majesty, by his authority, might either command the Justice to hold Court or to continue the diet, at his royal pleasure. Having heard the arguments, the Justice, in respect of the Royal Letter, continued the matter to the third day of the Air of Perth, or sooner, upon 15 days' warning, in the same state as it was before, and ordained John Lindsay of Evelick, cautioner, in respect of the non-entry of his principals, to remain as their cautioner, conform to the Act of Adjournal made thereupon. And so both cases are huddled out of our sight.

When the fifth Lord Oliphant died without male issue he was succeeded by Patrick, son of the deceased John Oliphant of Newland, who became sixth Lord. In consequence of a dispute with his predecessor's only daughter, Anne, who was the lady of Sir James Douglas of Mordington, afterwards created Lord Mordington, the sixth Lord Oliphant obtained from Charles I., in

1633, a new grant of the Oliphant Peerage; and he acquired lands in the north by his union with the daughter of Sir James Crichton of Frendraught. But beyond Lord Patrick we shall not follow the fortunes of a Peerage, which ultimately fell dormant, as it still is.

Turn we rather to "more attractive metal"—to that branch of the Oliphant race which became established in Gask, after the fifth Lord's sale of his estates—a branch which rendered itself famous in the two romantic episodes of modern Scottish history, and also in the later strains of the modern Scottish Muse. In days when the spirit of chivalry was but an empty memory, a figment of the past, the scorn of the worldly-wise and the self-seeking, a steady and devoted adherence to olden principles of honour and loyalty was evinced by the Oliphants of Gask, and their services and sufferings in the cause of what they deemed right and justice form no mean portion of the story of the exiled Stuart Princes and their struggles to reach the British throne. Who has not heard of the "Auld House o' Gask," and its Jacobite Lairds, and its gifted poetess?

Not far remov'd, tho' much obscur'd with wood,
GASK'S rural dwelling has for ages stood;
Where honest OLIPHANT, a cheerful host,
Still cracks his jokes, and drinks his fav'rite toast.

So sung a forgotten poet—Mr Alves, in his *Drummond Castle; or, A Descriptive View of Strathearn*: thus he sung at a time (April, 1784) when the "Auld House o' Gask" was the happy home of the "Flower of Strathearn," then in the bloom of her eighteenth spring, and perhaps all unconscious of that rich endowment of poetical genius which was destined to place her name high on the bead-roll of Scotia's sweet-singers, but which was ripening under the influences of the lovely scenery surrounding her birth-place. Oft must the eye of the young poetess have dwelt with rapture on the far-stretching panorama of the green Ochills and the smiling valley at their feet—a prospect ever varying in its aspect with the alternation of the seasons, and with Nature's changeful moods,—as the bursting sunshine chased the shadows, or the storm-

clouds trailed their dark skirts along the hill-tops, or when the lady moon climbed the blue vault, and the winding Earn became a chain of sparkling silver. But those days are gone; and now all that remains of a "rural dwelling," which was honoured by the presence of the "Young Chevalier," and saw Carolina Oliphant, the darling of the Scottish Muse, grow up under the fond eye of the "Auld Laird's" son, is a mouldering fragment of the front wall, overgrown with luxuriant ivy, forming at that point a verdant screen to the modern mansion behind, and harmonizing with approaches soft as velvet to the passing footstep, and over-arched by densely-clustering foliage. The avenues of Gask are a marvel to the stranger. Wandering through these sylvan shades, in the fading light of a hushed summer gloaming, he might whisper, as a stray zephyr, breathing fragrantly of dewy flowers, rustles the stately and solemn trees:—

Methinks they talk
Lowly and sweetly, as befits the hour,
One to another down the grassy walk.

The Oliphants of Gask sprung from William, brother of the third Lord Oliphant. A "William Oliphant of Gask," whom we take to have been this William's son, is suddenly met with in 1618 as implicated, rightly or wrongly, in a deadly broil which took place on the streets of Perth. We have already seen that the Bruces of Cultmalundie were connected by matrimonial ties with the house of Oliphant,—Jean, daughter of the fourth Lord, having given her hand to Alexander Bruce of Cultmalundie. In the year 1618 a violent feud was going on betwixt the Laird of Culmalundie and Edward Toscheoche or Toshack, Laird of Monzievaird: and the sons of these two, with their companies, having met casually in the town of Perth,—apparently at Midsummer Market,—a conflict ensued in which wounds and death were ruthlessly dealt. The respective parties seem to have been unequally matched in numbers. Laurence Bruce, younger of Cultmalundie, had with him Alexander, his brother; Peter Blair, brother-ger-

man to Andrew Blair of Gairdrum; William Oliphant of Gask, and Laurence, his brother; Alexander Fleming of Moness; William Douglas of Annatroche; John New, servant to Lord Oliphant; Donald Paterson, servant to the Master of Oliphant; and George Tyrie, messenger in Perth. The other party consisted only of David Toshack, younger of Monzievaird; a servant named David Malloch (perhaps a progenitor of the Crieff-born poet, David Mallet); and another named Duncan Campbell. The meeting seems to have been quite accidental. It happened in the South Street, about two o'clock in the afternoon: quarrel instantly broke out, and swords were drawn: and the *Chronicle of Perth* thus briefly but circumstantially records the fatal affray:—"Upon Midsummer Day, the 20th of June, 1618 years," (it should be the 24th) "at twa afternoon, —Toshoch of Monivaird younger slain in the Southgait of Perth by Laurence Bruce younger of Cultmalundie, his brother, and divers their associats. The twa that was with Monyvaird, the ane deadly hurt, but died not, the other his richt hand clean stricken fra him. This done in ane moment of time, all the committers thereof eschewed [fled] out of the town before any of the town's men heard of any such thing."

Criminal proceedings were speedily raised against the Cultmalundie party, only one of whom found caution, namely, Peter Blair, brother to the Laird of Gairdrum—Andrew, the Laird, becoming his surety. Peter was indicted before the Justiciary, on 29th July, as art and part of the felon and cruel slaughter of David Toshock, and demembering of David Malloch, his servant, of his right hand, committed within the burgh of Perth, upon the 24th day of June. Neither he nor his surety appearing, the Justice amerced Andrew in 200 marks, and decerned Peter to be denounced rebel, and put to the horn, and all his moveable goods to be escheated. At the same diet, young Cultmalundie and the others were called for the said slaughter, when they were in like manner denounced as rebels for absenting themselves. Subsequently it was ascertained or sup-

posed that William Oliphant of Gask was the person who had mutilated David Malloch, and criminal letters were issued against him separately for that offence. He was delated on 17th November, 1619, for art and part of the mutilation. The accused appeared by his kinsman, Laurence Oliphant of Condie, who produced a Warrant of the Lords of Secret Council, directed to the Lord Justice, as follows :—

JUSTICE, Justice Clerk, and your depntes. Forsameikle as the 17th day of November instant is appointed to William Oliphant of Gask, for his compearance before you, to underly the laws for the mutilation and dismembering of David Malloch : notwithstanding, according to the King's Majesty's express warrant, command, and directions in this matter, these are to command you to continue the said diet to the 25 of February next to come; to the effect, in the meantime, the said William may take some course for satisfaction of his party : and that you take caution of the said William for his personal compearance the said day, and dispense with him and his cautioner for his not compearance at this diet : whereanent thir presents shall be your warrant. At Edr, the 16 day November, 1619.

AL. CANCELL^r.
MAR.
MELROIS.
LAUDERDAILL.

The Justice accordingly continued the diet to the day named. On the 25th February, 1620, the case came up again, and Laurence Oliphant of Condie produced a farther Warrant from the Privy Council :—

JUSTICE, Justice Clerk and your deputes. Whereas the 25th day of February instant is appointed to William Oliphant of Gask for his compearance before you, to underly the law for the slaughter of the Laird of Monyvaird, and mutilation and dismembering of David Malloch, his servant, of his right hand, and other crimes specified in the Letters raised thereanent : nevertheless, this is to command you to continue the said diet to the ninth day of June next to come, upon new caution, conform to the order : and that you dispense with the personal compearance of the party : whereanent thir presents shall be your warrant. At Holyroodhouse, the 24th of February, 1620.
[Signed as before.]

The purpose of these adjournments was to afford Gask the opportunity of effecting an amicable arrangement of the matter by payment of a sum of money to the injured party as compensation : and at this latter

diet Sir John Carmichael of Meadowflat, Captain of Crawford, became the surety required. But when the 9th of June arrived, the diet was deserted, by command of another warrant from the Council, subscribed by the Chancellor and the Earl of Melrose.

With the view of stanching the feud and composing the whole matter, King James recommended to the Privy Council to endeavour to bring about an extrajudicial settlement between all the parties by way of assythment or pecuniary compensation. The Council took up the task, and did their best to carry it through. The report of their dealings is contained in the following letter which they addressed to his Majesty:—

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

WHEREAS your Majesty was pleased, twa years syne, or thereby, to recommend unto us the settling and removing, by an amicable form and manner, the deadly feud standing betwixt the Lairds of Cultmalundie and Monyvaird and their friends, upon occasion of the slaughter of the Laird of Monyvaird; and to move the party grieved to accept of such *offers* as the offenders might reasonably perform: we accordingly wrote for sa mony of the friends as we know to have chief interest in that matter, and used the best means we could to have brought the same to some friendly dress; but that diet being casten off, upon allegiance that some of the special friends were omitted and not written for, we appointed a new diet, and wrote for the whole friends that were given up, who returned their answer to us, in write, under their hands, that they could not meddle in that matter, nor take burden for Monyvaird, who is the principal party having interest, in respect of his minority. Whereupon the matter deserted, and we could go no farther therein. At this second diet, Cultmalundie elder exhibit before us *Offers*, in write, under his hand, made to the party, containing the sum of ane thousand crowns for the assythment of that slaughter, with the banishment of Alexander Bruce, his son, and George Tyrie, Messenger, who were alleged to be the actual slayers of Monyvaird, during your Majesty's pleasure: and at the same time we caused him to give satisfaction to Duncan Campbell and David Malloch, who were deadly hurt when Monyvaird was slain, by payment making to them of twa thousand pounds: whereupon they have given ane discharge of their interest in that matter, as the same produced before us bears.

This feud has altogether undone Auld Cultmalundie; for his estate is exhausted and wrecked, and he is become very weak of his judgment and understanding, by the grief that thir troubles has brought upon him: whilk were the occasion of his wife's death, and of the exile and ban-

ishment of his sons and friends, now by the space of four years; in the whilk exile, twa of his friends, of good rank and quality, has departed this life.

This being the effect of our dealing in this business, we have been entreated by the party humbly to present the same to your Majesty's consideration. And so continuing our incessant prayers unto God for your Majesty's long and happy reign, we rest,

Your Ma^s humble and obedient subjects and servitors,

AL. CANCELL^r.

MAR.

MELROS.

GEORGE HAY.

Holyroodhouse, 21 of March 1622.

To the King his most sacred and excellent Majesty.

This is a melancholy picture of the wretched consequences of those feuds which so numerously prevailed in this country, while the law and the Executive had so little power to restrain or punish disorders. That a final settlement was effected on old Cultmalundie's offers may be deemed probable; but we have found no later notice of the case. David Malloch's misfortune in losing his right hand was commemorated in a rhyme long common in the town and neighbourhood of Perth:—

Aff hands is fair play :

Davie Malloch says nay !

Laurence Oliphant, the great-grandson of the ancestor of the Gask line, was a zealous Cavalier, and received the honour of knighthood from Charles II., when that Monarch was in Perth with the Covenanters in 1650. Sir Laurence married Liliass, daughter of the sixth Lord Oliphant. An old family MS. says that "he bought the lands of Williamstoun from Sir William Blair of Kinfauns, and paid for them thirty years purchase, when money was at ten per cent interest:" and "he afterwards inveigled himself in a foolish plea, which occasioned his attendance for thirty sessions before the Lords of Session at Edinburgh." His eldest son, Patrick, married Margaret Murray, daughter of the minister at Trinity-Gask, by whom he had a son, James, who was born after 1660, and succeeded him. James, in 1689, likewise married a minister's daughter—Janet Murray, daughter of Mr Murray of Woodend.*

* Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii., pp. 512-514; vol.

*PASSAGES IN THE HISTORY OF THE
OLIPHANTS.—Part 5th.*

Oh, the auld laird, the auld laird !
Sae canty, kind, and crouse;
How mony did he welcome to
His ain wee dear auld house !
And the leddy, too, sae genty,
There shelter'd Scotland's heir,
And clipt a lock wi' her ain hand
Frae his lang yellow hair.

Lady Nairne.

JACOBITISM, the principle of hereditary right, was the ruling political star of the Lairds of Gask, and influenced their fortunes during the period while the cause of the Stuarts hung in the balance. Cavalier loyalty of the staunch old strain actuated many of the Scottish families in the lowlands, especially in Perthshire. The results of the Revolution and of the Union with England were not at first such as to reconcile patriotic spirits to the changes which had in a sense destroyed the national independence, "the auld Scottish glory:" and at no time from 1688 to 1745 was the country unripe for rebellion, or the new order of things beyond risk of overthrow. Yet both of the Jacobite attempts upon the throne were rashly precipitated without any preparation: consequently much precious time was lost which should have been employed in pushing forward and dealing speedy home-thrusts at the surprised and confused enemy. The Earl of Mar kept his scheme of insurrection to himself for a whole year, then stole northward in disguise, proclaimed King James, and took the town of Perth, and there sat composedly down in his camp, and began weaving an elaborate hose-net, which proper forethought would have woven to his hand. When Mar set up his standard, James Oliphant wished it every success; but

he evidently doubted the military capacity of a leader who was but a supple politician turned amateur-soldier. Gask was cautious about compromising himself. He chose the *via media*—the prudent middle way, which was adopted by not a few at that time. He had sons, and he permitted the two eldest—Laurence (born in 1691) and Thomas—to join the Jacobite colours at Perth, while he himself remained at home, tolerably safe whatever way the wind should set.

The two brothers went to the camp on the North Inch, and proffered their services. Laurence obtained a commission as Lieutenant of the "Perthshire Regiment of Horse," dated 29th October, 1715, and signed by Lord Rollo as colonel. Friends of the Oliphants were with the rebel army—notably Lord Nairne, and Colonel William Oliphant, uncle of the Laird of Gask. Another relative of the family was Mr Patrick Hay, who was elected Provost of Perth under Mar's auspices, and whose spouse was Ann Oliphant, a grand-daughter of Sir Laurence Oliphant, by his second son. The Gask brothers were at Sheriffmuir and fought on the left wing, which was driven back across the river Allan. Neither seems to have received any wound in the action. They returned with Mar to Perth. After the Chevalier's arrival on the east coast, Laurence heard a prophecy at the Cross of Perth which he committed to writing many years subsequently, (about 1759), and which we shall quote as a fair sample of the frail and often absurd hopes that inspired and elated the Jacobites in the midst of the most depressing circumstances :—

It happened to be my turn to command the Horse guard at Perth in the end of Decr, 1715, that night when the Duke of Mar left it, to go to meet the King, tho he kept it to himself. I was not a little uneasie dureing my being on guard; and about twelve went to the Cross, where I found a greater concourse of gentlemen than ordinary. After talking of L^d Mar's having gone off, the Discourse turn'd upon the Restoration of our King; Mr Alex. Drummond, clergyman at Drummond, was with us at the Cross, and I heard him tell that a Gentleman (I think of Wales) travelling in Italy had

heard there was a Person there, had a great knowledge (somehow) of future events. As the Traveller was a well-wisher of the Royal Family, he went to him and ask^d him if that Family would ever be restored to its just rights. He answered, It would. He next ask^d him, If it was the King of France that would do it. He said, No, that he would never have that Honour but he said it would be Charles King of Spain. I thought it would be the then Charles, whom the Confederates had made King there, and after he was elected Emperor I still judged he was the Person who was to bring it about. Now that this present Charles is Lawfull King of Spain, I hope I am almost persuaded that it will be by his means that the King will be established upon his Thrones of Scotland, England, and Ireland. I sincerely beg of God Almighty that he may enable every honest man to act his part.

“The King” was brought to Scone, and kept state there, expecting a coronation, with nothing but disaster and ruin staring him in the face. At that time Laurence appears to have acted as one of the garrison adjutants, and his private note-book contains various orders of the day, from which we may cull a passage or two :—

Scoon, 12 January, 1716.

Parole—*Drummond*. Countersign—*Stobhall*.

That intimation be made to all the inhabitants of Perth that when any stranger comes into their houses to lodge; that they give in his name immediately in writing to the Governor. Any that does not observe this carefully will be looked upon and treated as enemies to the King and Government.

On the 22d January pretence was made that the insurgent troops were to advance against Argyle :—

That all the commanding officers call in all their people immediately, that the King may have his army as strong as possible to beat the Rebels, who threaten to march immediately against us. And all the army to hold themselves in readiness to march against them on an hour's advertisement.

That the Artillery Company do no other duty but break the ice as the Governor orders them.

The last entry in the book records the resolution to retreat :—

Scoon, 30 January, 1716.

Parole—*Perth*. Countersign—*Scoon*.

All the army to hold themselves in readiness to march upon a call.

Those that quarter on this side the water to parade at Bridgend when called.

Every pretence—the last prop had now given way. The Jacobite forces, miserably thinned, yet still full of warlike enthusiasm, instead of being led out against the advancing enemy, were hurried across the frozen Tay, and down the Carse of Gowrie in disorderly retreat. The Chevalier and his principal officers embarked for France, and the general crowd of adherents were left to shift for themselves as best they might. The brothers Oliphant were driven into hiding, and it was a considerable time before they could make their peace. Their father on 5th September, 1716, took the precaution to entail his estate, on his wife, Janet Murray, in liferent, and on his third son, and his heirs-male, in fee; whom failing, on his other children, secluding from the succession to said lands his eldest son, Laurence, and his second son, Thomas, until they were purged of the suspicion of being concerned in the late Rebellion, and were in a legal capacity to possess the said lands, in which case the other heirs above mentioned should be bound to denude themselves of the rights thus given them, in favour of these two in their order. At length Laurence and Thomas got out of peril. The Government treated bygones as bygones, and the youths came home. In 1719 Laurence married Amelia, daughter of the second Lord Nairne.

James Oliphant of Gask died on 10th April, 1732. "He was the last of his house who knew how to keep the gear together," says his present representative; "almost all his descendants made havoc of the Gask revenues, what with civil war, overbuilding, and law-suits." The eldest son, Laurence, and his wife Amelia, were now Laird and Lady of Gask. Their family consisted of a son, Laurence, and two daughters. Time passed on, bringing little to ruffle the placid current of their married happiness, until with '45 came peril and sorrow. The young heir, Laurence, was then approaching majority, never dreaming that he was so soon to mingle in the strife of battlefields, and behold the white rose trodden down on the bloody heath of Culloden. When Prince Charles advanced towards Perth,

in September, 1745, he halted at Gask on his way, and partook of breakfast in the old mansion-house. "The chair upon which the Prince sat was never allowed to be profaned by meaner occupants for scores of years afterwards; and the host and guest exchanged spurs." Gask and his son buckled on their swords, and followed the Young Chevalier, but failed to induce their tenantry to declare for the cause. Father and son marched with the insurgent army when it left Perth, on Wednesday, 11th September: and young Laurence was now an aid-de-camp to the Prince. On the route through Strathearn, the Prince breakfasted a second time at the house of Gask; and there a remarkable incident occurred, which has been related from the tradition of the country-side, by Mr Robert Chambers, in his *History of the Rebellion*:—

Perhaps no one experienced so much difficulty in his levies as the good Laird of Gask, though he was at the same time perhaps the person of all others the most anxious to provide men for the service of his beloved Prince. This enthusiastic Jacobite was, it seems, so extremely incensed at the resistance he received from some of his tenants, that he laid an arrestment or inhibition upon their corn-fields, by way of trying if their interest would not oblige them to comply with his request. The case was still at issue, when Charles, in marching from Perth, observed the corn hanging dead ripe, and inquired the reason. He was informed that Gask had not only prohibited his tenants from cutting their grain, but would not permit their cattle to be fed upon it, so that these creatures were absolutely starving. He instantly leaped from his saddle, exclaiming, "This will never do," and began to gather a quantity of the corn. Giving this to his horse, he said to those that were by that he had thus broken Gask's inhibition, and the farmers might now, upon his authority, proceed to put the produce of their fields to its proper use.

From their "auld house," the Laird and his son went on with the Rebels. Edinburgh was occupied. Prestonpans was fought and won; and young Laurence, who was present in the fight, has left a vivid story of his adventures on being commissioned to the capital to bring out surgeons to tend the wounded on the field:—

I was ordered to Edinburgh as fast as I could to get out surgeons, cause shut the ports against stragglers, &c.

The execution was a little hazardous ; in Tranent I was hard on the dragoons that went off in a body, before I was aware. I took a different lane and avoided them, and as I came on my servant and I disarmed all the fugitives I met with, not to give them an opportunity of firing after me. Numbers of young lads were on the road, to whom I gave the arms and 2 or 3 dragoon horses, ordering them to the Prince, and allowed the troopers to shift for themselves. A servant going off with a led pony would not halt ; I fired my side pistol after him in the air, which brought him to. Entering the Netherbow, a most agreeable prospect opened ; the windows on both sides up to the Luckenbooths full of caps, and the street of hats and bonnets, and when I now and then called out " Victory ! " the air seemed to rend with the hearty huzza. I alighted at Lucky Wilson's below the Lawnmarket, and sent for the Magistrates, who came immediately. I delivered them my orders, particularly to guard the Netherbow Port and keep out stragglers, which they promised to do directly. While I was busy breakfasting and answering many questions, Mr Halyburton came in and told there were some dragoons and soldiers coming up the street. Vexed that my orders were not executed, I jumped up, went out, I believe, without my bonnet, followed by Sir James Stewart, Mr Ebenezer Oliphant, and I don't know how many more, and met the party a little below the mouth of the close, consisting, I think, of seven or eight foot and two dragoons. I ordered them, in the Prince's name to surrender; they stopt, and the dragoons were dismounting, when one of the foot presenting his piece, I snapt my side pistol at him, in my hurry forgetting I had emptied it at the servant coming into town ; perhaps it was lucky. The soldier fired, as did several. I got a shot through the lap of my vest, a slight stroke on the left arm with a sword, and the buckle of my shoulder-belt on my breast cut and bent by another. I then made my retreat, and heard balls strike on the wall above me, as I entered the close. I was told the dragoons and foot hasted up toward the castle, and one soldier was following me in the close, when my uncle, Mr Ebenezer Oliphant, did me the good service to grasp him in his arms, and said, " What want you, friend ? " upon which he sneaked off.

The Prince slept at Pinkie, and next day when he entered his apartment at Holyrood house, there was laid on the table a laurel crown; few people coming in with his Royal Highness, I used the freedom to present him with the crown; he bowed his head and let me put it on, so that the only fugitive had the honour to crown him the future King.

There was a Perthshire Regiment of Horse raised for the rebel service. It mustered only 36 men, and Lord Strathallan was Colonel. On the 2d October, the Prince gave young Gask a Captain's commission in this body

of cavalry; and the Laird himself was afterwards appointed Lieutenant-Colonel. Captain Laurence accompanied the army in the invasion of England; but his father and Lord Strathallan were despatched north to Perth, to undertake the command of that important post,—Strathallan as Governor of the town, and Gask as Deputy-Governor. Gask acted as Treasurer and Paymaster of the forces in that neighbourhood, uplifting all contributions, voluntary or otherwise, and making the requisite disbursements. His Book of Accounts, extending from 3d October, 1745, to 15th April, 1746, is still preserved. He had also to keep surveillance over 48 of Sir John Cope's officers taken at Prestonpans, who were sent to Perth. They were suspected of having excited the only serious trouble which Gask experienced during his command, namely with the inhabitants on the night of the 30th October, King George's birthday, when a mob arose and besieged the small Jacobite guard in the Council-House, at the foot of the High Street. Margaret, one of Gask's two daughters, has thus described the riot :—

The Prince thought proper to send my Lord Strathallan and Gask to govern Perth. On the Elector's birthday, the 30th of October. Lord Strathallan happened to go to the country; about the usual time the Perth folks set the bells a-ringing, set on bonfires, and did all that was in their power; all which Gask took no notice of, as he had not force for them. Luckily there came to town 15 of Lord Pitsligo's men that day and 2 Frenchmen; at night 12 of the guard went to patrol, when the mob fell on them, and wounded and disarmed them. Then they wrote a letter to Gask to deliver up the arms and ammunition, to save the effusion of Christian blood. This was signed by 4 of the ringleaders. Gask upon this with 19 men went directly to the Council-house, where the arms was, and was there till 8 next morning. About 12 the fire-bell began to ring, which was the signal to gather. As they were coming down the street, Gask and his men fired at them, and killed and wounded a great many; but when they came near, they stood behind fore-stairs, and shot out at windows upon them about 300 shot, and killed one of the French gentlemen. One of the rebels' arm was shot off, just as he was going with a wisp of heather to blow up the [Council] house. They had a boat ready to take Gask to the *Fox* man-of-war. At daybreak they went off, but they were resolved to have it more effectual next, and had a great number convened; the Nairne men came in that

night, and they got them drunk, and was to have gone on, had not 300 M'Intoshes come in, which put a stop to all their mails. The prisoner officers, which were taken at Gladsmoor and was in Perth on parole, was much blamed for spiriting up the mob, which had the appearance of ending very tragically.

Only four of the mob were wounded, one of whom, George Gorry, weaver, died in a day or two. He it was who attempted to blow up the Council-House by rolling a keg of gunpowder under the north pend.

A few entries from Gask's ledger of his monetary transactions in the town of Perth will be found interesting. Beginning with his receipts,—he credits himself with the following, among other sums:—From Mr Carmichael, Collector of Perthshire Cess, £200, £100, £100, £150, £40; from do., of Land Tax, £164, £200, £165, £100, £287; from Sir John Wedderburn, Collector of Excise, £127, £57, £22, £108, £36 4s, £28, £12, £20, £15, £31; from Condie, £50; from my Lady Moncreiff, £160; from my Lady Stormont, £100; from the Viscount of Stormont, £200; from Lady Methven, £100; from Mr David Moncreif at Moncreif, £140; from Mr Rattray of Craighall, £50; from Yamon of Moorie, £70; from Mr P. Greeme of Murray's Hall, £50; from the Laird of Orchill, £63; from Sir Alexander Lindsay, Evelick, £50; from Drummond of Gerdum, £30; from Postmaster of Perth, duty of letters, £8 1s 1d; Fife Cess, £320; Fife Land Tax, £273; Fife Excise, £384; Kinross Cess, £181 1s 8d; Kinross Excise, £10 15s 6d: the total amount received from 3rd October, 1745, to 4th February, 1746, being £5192 7s 10d. We now come to the payments, and make a short selection of the more curious items.

1745.

Oct. 30.	To pay ^t of the Bill with Dodwick and the other six gentlemen that helpt to keep out the Guard ag ^t the Mob	£1 12 6
	The common soldiers' drink that night cost	0 3 8
„ 31.	With the old Magistrates about settling the peace of the town	0 6 0
	To three townsmen that stood it the 30 th	0 3 0
Nov ^r . 3.	We find a note of the 6 men wounded by the mob: Gask gave them.....	1 19 0

Nov. 4.	To ane express sent with letters about Captain Reynolds, seized by a set of Seceders at Kinross, and carried aboard the <i>Happy Janet</i>	£0	6	0
	To Thomas Drummond at Auchterarder, brought intelligence about the Seceders	0	1	0
„ 5.	To guide to Kinross with party to apprehend them that seized Cap. Reynolds	0	2	0
„ 15.	To W ^m Lindsay, Wright, for six score targets, per Account discharged	30	14	6
„ 19.	To pay ^t of Capt. Culligan's Burial Accounts, killed at Perth on the 30 th	6	16	3
„ 20.	A bowl of punch with the 1 st Captain, arrived, of Frasers,	0	4	6
„ 21.	To Alex ^r Brown, for thirty pair shoes, at 3s 6d, to Capt. M'Bain's Company... Bill for punch, &c., when Glenco's, Cameron, and Appin's men came to town	5	5	0
		0	8	10
„ 22.	Express from Glengyle about a 2 ^d victory by the Prince, and taking of Carlisle,	0	1	0
	Bill of punch upon the news,	0	7	6
„ 25.	To John Sturrock in Forfar for 300 pair shoes, at 2s per pair	30	0	0
Decr. 3.	To Mr Fraser of Fairfield, for 97 pair shoes at 2s 6d, for the army	12	2	6
Decr. 10.	For 170 pair shoes to Earl of Cromarty's men at 2s 6d per pair,	21	5	0
„ 19.	To Ja. Bennet for scabbards of swords to Cameron,	0	18	2
	To Ja. Bennet at Shoegate Port for do., and mend: and clean: swords to do., ...	2	11	9
	To Smith for mend: guns and pistols to do.,	2	0	0
	To John Whytt at Forfar for 232 pair shoes at 2s,	23	4	0
„ 24.	To Mart. Lindsay to pay to workmen fortifying the Mount [remains of Cromwell's Citadel] at Perth,	2	0	0

The Rebel army turned at Derby, and retreated homewards. The Battle of Falkirk was fought, in which young Gask was engaged: and his father thus entered in his Account-book on 19th January, 1746:—

To 4 bottles of wine at news of the Battle, 10s.

Other rejoicings followed:—

Janry. 20.	To Bill, Mrs Hickson's, for the rejoicing for Falkirk victory,	£1	3	1
	Bill at supper for the victory,	0	15	7
„ 21.	To the Bill on confirmation of the victory,	1	8	10
	Drink to soldiers that fired the cannon,	0	5	0

But the half-victory availed the cause nothing. Retreat to the north was imperative; and Gask used every exertion at Perth to facilitate the operations of his friends by sending forward the stores. His Book of Accounts closed on 4th February, slips of paper being used for subsequent entries of his transactions. He laid down his Deputy-Governorship of the Fair City, and, following the Prince, rejoined his regiment, the Perthshire Squadron of Horse, of which he drew up a list, shewing that it numbered 82 of all ranks on 7th February.

The issue of the retreat to the north has long been a threadbare story. The two Oliphants were on the field of Culloden,—the father with his regiment, and young Laurence as aide-de-camp to Prince Charles. The Perthshire troopers acquitted themselves bravely in the fray. Lord Strathallan, their Colonel, fell mortally wounded; and the command devolved on Gask, the next in rank. When the battle was lost, young Laurence escorted the Prince out of immediate danger, and heard his farewell remark—"No help for it. God is all powerful, who can give us the victory another day." But there was to be no other day. Culloden was the grave of Jacobitism. Laurence parted from Charles, and galloping back to the field, where the Perthshire Squadron and other cavalry were stoutly checking the pursuit, he seized the colours, and, in the despair of the moment, seemed ready to rush singly upon the advancing foe.

The father and son became fugitives in the wilds. They stealthily made their way into Aberdeenshire, where in desert coverts they lived lives of peril and privation for more than half-a-year. Meanwhile the law branded them with proscription. The names of "Lawrence Oliphant the elder of Gask," and "Lawrence Oliphant the younger of Gask," were both included in the Act of Attainder, passed in May, 1746, which enacted that certain parties therein named should be held guilty of high treason, and stand attainted, if they did not surrender themselves to justice before the

12th of July. To add to their misfortunes, young Laurence was not in good health: he was suffering under an ailment (an asthma) which clung to him during the remainder of his days. They had many hairbreadth escapes from capture or death, A single instance may be adduced. "A faithful servant from Gask, named David Buchan, followed young Oliphant through all his wanderings. Once, when they were hiding, he heard a marksman in ambush say—"There's Oliphant!" another answered "Which?" But before aim was taken, Buchan had slipped a gold piece into the hand of the informer, and the musket was lowered." By and by communications were opened with the loved and unprotected ones at home; but the news from that quarter brought little comfort, Clouds and darkness rested on the house of Gask, and its fortunes had sunk to their lowest ebb.*

* We beg to acknowledge our obligations for most of the materials of this chapter to *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, by the present Laird of Gask, Mr T. L. Kington Oliphant of Balliol College, Oxford—a work issued in 1870 under the auspices of the Grampian Club, and which is one of the most graphic and interesting of family histories.

*PASSAGES IN THE HISTORY OF THE
OLIPHANTS.—Part 6th.*

For old hereditary right,
For conscience' sake they stoutly stood;
And for the Crown their valiant sons
Themselves have shed their injured blood;
And if their fathers ne'er had fought
For heirs of ancient Royalty,
They're down the day that might hae been
At the top o' honour's tree a'.

Lady Nairne.

MR WHYTT and Mr Brown were the names which the Laird of Gask and his son assumed while skulking about after Culloden. Fortunately eluding the vigilance of enemies, they made their way down to Glenisla, where they obtained precarious shelter; but they durst venture no nearer to their own country, although, however, they managed to open communications with the anxious friends at home. There, in the "auld house," the lady and her family underwent much suffering. Her most dreaded enemy was at her own door, in the person of the parish minister, Mr M'Leish, whom her husband unwisely, in 1740, had placed in the parish against the wishes of the parishoners, and who, when the Jacobite cause was crushed, became a spy upon the proceedings of the unhappy family, and caused them all the petty annoyances which he could contrive. But the lady had been visited with other troubles besides her dread of the minister and her keen anxiety for those near and dear to her. On the advance of Cumberland's army to Perth, in February, 1746, parties of the soldiery made rounds of all the Jacobite houses in the neighbourhood, and plundered at will—much of the spoil being brought in to Perth, and publicly sold. Concerning these lawless proceedings, we read thus in the selections from Bishop Forbes' manuscript volumes, called "The Lyon in Mourning," which were published, in 1834, by Mr

Robert Chambers, under the title of *Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745* :—

Let the houses that were pillaged and plundered, even before the Battle of Culloden, be evidence of that mildness and wisdom, which some lying sycophants see shining so conspicuously in the character of their *adored Cumberland*. When he was at Perth with his army, orders were issued out for pillaging and plundering the house of Machany, the country-seat of the Viscount Strathallan; the house of Oliphant of Gask, the house of Graham of Garrock, &c., which orders were most strictly put in execution; for the parties spared not the body-clothes of the ladies, and they destroyed such provisions as they could not either consume or carry off with them, breaking the bottles, and other vessels, full of liquor, &c., as if they intended that the poor ladies, their children, and servants, should be all starved to death for want of clothes, meat, and drink. Party after party came to the said houses, and took away such gleanings as had not been observed by the former party, or any small stock of provisions the ladies had procured after the first rummaging bout. Several of Cumberland's principal officers lived upon free cost in their marching northwards, as some families in Perth, in Aberdeen, &c., can well vouch to their sad experience.

But it seems that the marauding parties acted without orders, and eventually the chief commanders of the forces, on becoming aware of what had been done, strove to prevent the recurrence of such outrages: at least, such was undoubtedly the case in regard to Gask, as the following correspondence will show. The first letter is addressed to the lady :—

Perth, February 17, 1746.

Madam,

General Huske being informed that an officer who went to your house to search for arms, papers, &c., had taken some money, linens, and several other things which belonged to you and daughter as ladys, the General desires you send Acc^t of the particluars that this officer has taken from you, I mean what entirely belong'd to you as ladys, by this Express. I am, Madam, Your most Obed. & humble Serv^t

ARCH. MACLACHAN.

An answer was returned by the lady as desired :—

S^r, Nothing but obedience to General Husk's orders could prevail upon me to have mention'd these trifles that the officer who came here had taken, & I really doe not know exactly what they were, except two peices of coton cloth; in one of the peices there was ten yeards, much less in the other peice; he demanded ten guinies from me to give the soldiers that were here, which I

ingenouslie told him I had not; one of my Daughters gave him a three pound 12 pice she had in her pocket, which was all the money he got; now, sir, you will allow me to give you the trouble to thank all these good officers that were here, in all our Names, for their civilitys to us, & General Husk in particular for the Gaurd he was so good as place here. We have injoind a perfect tranquility ever since, and believe me we shall never be ungratefull for the favor which we hope by your intercession his Excelency will be so good as to continue.

But the head authority at Perth required still more specific information :—

Perth, Feby. 20, 1745-6.

Madam, I am commanded by His Royal Highness to inform myself from you, whether the officer who was sent with a Detachment to Gask, when the Army march'd by, did take the money he is charged with or not; whether he ever returned it, and if he did, at what time it was. Every *Gentleman* in the Army is concerned that any violence is offer'd to the Fair Sex, and it is absolutely contrary to His Royal Highness's intentions. I am, Madam, your most humble serv^t.

JOSEPH YORKE,

Aide-de-Camp to H.R.H. the Duke.

The Express who is order'd by H.R.H. to carry this to you will wait to bring back your answer.

Lady Gask could only repeat what she said before : and the delinquent officer was tried by Court-Martial and deprived of his commission. In a week or two, after the Hessian troops had come to garrison Perth, application was made by Lady Gask for a military guard to be stationed at her house : and she received this reply :—

Perth, March 8th, 1746.

Madam, As I have been applied to for a safe Guard for your house and family, if you chuse to have somebody sent for that purpose, it shall be done as soon as possible, tho I venture to pass my word it is not needfull, as the most absolute orders are given & will be punctually obeyed, not in any shape to molest any person who is not found in arms or acting against the Interest of His Majesty.

With the ladies especially I assure you we shall make no wars, and tho there is nobody who would do more to quash this rebellion than myself, yet I would wish it done if possible without either bloodshed or rapine, to prevent which my utmost efforts shall always be used where it is not against the Interest of His Majesty, under whose Government, notwithstanding all that has happen'd, I dare take upon me to say all who will live quietly may enjoy both peace and protection. In which, as far as my small powr can contribute, you shall always find a ready

assistant. I am, Madam, your most obed^t. & most humble serv^t.,

JOHN STEWART,
Q^r Mr Gen^l for his Majesty to the Hessians.

The guard, however, seemed actually requisite, as the lady farther explained. "The servant I have sent you this by," she wrote, "can tell you how we have been insulted this day by the common soldiers, which is unavoidable, as they go to and fro." The guard, we presume, was sent; and a protection was given under the hand of the celebrated soldier, John, Earl of Craufurd, who now commanded in Perth:—

All soldiers and others under my Command are hereby strictly forbidden under pain of the severest punishments to molest or do the least harm to the Lady Gask, her Family, House, Furniture, or anything belonging unto her by marauding or plundering either by stealth or open violence any things belonging to said House under what pretext soever, and that none may pretend Ignorance I have given this order for protecting the said Lady, her house, and effects, under my hand and seal at Perth this Eleventh day of March, 1745-6.

CRAUFURD.

A similar letter of protection, written in German, was given by the supreme officer of the Hessians: and thus, for the future, the Gask family were saved from military depredations, which had even taken the form of cutting down trees and selling them! Nothing, however, could abate the ill-feeling on the part of the Minister, Mr M'Leish; but despite his sinister watchfulness, letters passed at intervals between the lady and her husband; and "old cottagers on the estate boast to this day, how their grandfathers, at the risk of the gallows, carried" those communications, "which were hidden in shirt or shoe." Still more,—the lady succeeded, doubtless with much difficulty and at no small danger, in obtaining an interview with Gask, apparently at his refuge in Glenisla, in the month of October, 1746, only a few days before he made his escape abroad. He and his son had now spent upwards of six months in hiding. Their prospects had never brightened. Their only chance of safety lay in forsaking their native land. This they ultimately effected,

They both embarked in a vessel bound for the north of Europe,—and which “bore a truly Perthshire freight of Græmes, Murrays, Drummonds, and Oliphants, men beggars in all but honour, who had staked and lost everything in the late struggle.” The vessel landed at a Swedish port on 10th November; and the next seventeen years were spent by the two Oliphants in weary exile, cheered only by false hopes of a Jacobite Restoration. “Every now and then” they received from home “a score of guineas or so,” which Lady Gask “had contrived to pick up from the tenants of the forfeited estate, in spite of the watchful eyes of the Government Factor, Campbell of Barcaldine.”

Gask's estate was forfeited, like so many more. But in 1752 his faithful wife wrote to him that she had promising views of its being bought back in their interest at the public sale. This, indeed, was accomplished by staunch friends in February, 1753; and the good lady communicated the joyful news, from Edinburgh, on the 17th of that month, to her son, Laurence, under his name of Mr Brown, at Boulogne:—

This is to desire you will take the first opportunity to lett Mr Oliphant know, that yesterday came on the sale of his estate before the Barons of Exchequer. It was sett up in two parcels, the first att £10,481 6s 1d, the other £3891 11s 11d. They both fell into the hands of Mr Oliphant of Condie; his bode for the first was a hund. p^d more, and for the second fifty p^d more; no one appearing to bid more, they were by the Barons declar'd his. Besides the above sum there was seven hund. p^d ster. for the planting, &c., upon that estate. I forgot to mention it was 20 years purchase the lands were sett up at; the term of payment is Martinmas next; between that time the five Gentlemen concern'd wants to sell off lands to pay what they are bound for; under redemption will not doe, as nobody in that case will give 20 years purchase for land that otherwise would give thirty or near it. As their is so great a sum to pay, they think of selling Williamstoun, Cowgask, and the Ross, and what of the outskirts of Gask as shall be thought most proper. They are resolved to keep no debts, and says that eats up the profits, therefore will have all clear.

Laurence, in transmitting the glad epistle to his father, added a few remarks:—

I wish you joy of being once more Gask; them that have, they say, still wish for more; I owen I'm sorry to

think of the purchasers selling Williamstoun and Cowgask against Martinmas and without redemption ; it's a great pitty so pretty a contiguous estate should be divided. I could now wish for a virtuous Gerle who had wherewith to redeem it. However, let that happen as it will, I'm perfectly content, and fully convinced ye gracious hand that has hitherto indulged us with a suitable subsistence will continue and even add to it, if for our good.

Already, we should suppose, the affections of Laurence were captivated by "a virtuous girl;" for, on 9th June, 1755, he was married, at Versailles, to his cousin, Margaret Robertson, eldest daughter of Duncan Robertson of Druimachoin, heir of old Strowan.

Seventeen years were the limit of the Oliphants' exile. In Britain, during that period, the times had changed : the angry passions of the Rebellion had died away : George III. was now on the throne, and his favourite Minister was a Scotsman, the Earl of Bute. The new and hopeful aspect of affairs emboldened the Oliphants, though still under the ban, to run all hazards, and return home. They did so in September, 1763. "Their circumstances were not what they had been in the beginning of 1746; nothing but pewter was now used in their house. They found whole baronies that had once belonged to them, gone from the family for ever : " and "even what remained of the Oliphant property was under the thumb of Trustees, who would not always listen to the requests of the Laird, a mere nobody in the eye of the law." But their worst days were over. Father and son were undisturbed by the law, and that without any abandonment of political principle on their part. In fact, the Government acted generously. In December, 1763, a pension of £111 was granted to Lady Gask, on the ground that she had brought a considerable portion to her husband, while during almost the whole of his exile, not a penny from the estate had gone to her or her daughters. Old Gask, however, did not long enjoy the loved society of his home. He died in 1767, aged 75. A year before this, his grand-daughter, Carolina, the poetess, first saw the light. She was born at Gask, on 16th August, 1766.

Laurence, the new Laird of Gask, cherished his

Jacobitism, like a strong religious faith, for the remainder of his days. His exile and misfortunes had only confirmed its hold upon him. It gave the tone and colour to his whole life. He could have gone to the block for it. About a year after the death of his father, Laurence and his lady went over to France, and thence to Italy. At Rome they waited on the Prince,—or rather, as they styled him, *King Charles*, who was now the head of the house of Stuart. Both the Pretender and his brother, the Cardinal of York, received Gask with the utmost consideration and kindness, and the former had consultations with him respecting his religion, which had become Protestant, as he privately and it might be honestly professed, and he kept a Protestant chaplain. Charles was looking about for a matrimonial alliance, and Gask earnestly counselled him to select a Protestant bride. But the Charles of 1768 was otherwise changed from the young and chivalrous adventurer of the '45. Disappointment and neglect were gradually developing habits ignoble: and though Gask was probably blind to the self-abasement already begun, it was seen by other eyes. The honest Laird took his leave of the Prince for the last time, and came home, full of enthusiastic hopes that better days were nigh. The Jacobite party, sadly reduced in numbers and influence, continued to indulge in such dreams. They caught at every straw. Every move on the political chessboard of Europe gave them encouragement. Party spirit and its ebullitions in England seemed to promise openings for the long-delayed Restoration. In 1772, a prophecy was rehearsed in Gask's hearing, and he eagerly jotted it down among his memoranda:—

Gask, June 25th, 1772.

A Prophecy told by a Man of Honour, David Graeme of Orchill, this day at Gask, of Mr Buchanan of Achmar, who died in the 1746, and which Orchill heard in ye 45.

Achmar said he was sorry for the present Rising, for it would not succeed, but that the Family would be restored by the united means of Bourbon and Austria; and being answer'd it was not likely ever that would happen, as these two houses were always at enmity, he reply'd that it would be seen some time that they would agree, and jointly bring about the above event.

And let us hear too how Gask prayed daily for his King:—

Gask, August 16, 1779.

O Lord, be gracious to our King and Queen, enable the King to please thee and shine forth an example in Virtue. May he be the Instrument in thy hands of restoring truth and justice to these Nations and of turning many thousands unto thee. May all his Subjects become dutyfull and obedient unto him; and all our pass'd Iniquitys be pardoned. May the neighbouring Nations joyn, and kindly all events concur to bring the King back. May the present Possessor think upon his ways, do justice to the King, and have thy favour upon him and his familie for doing so. But upon the King's head may the Crown flourish, and may he live with the Queen in virtue, comfort, and affection, be blessed with children, and whatever be thy will here, made greatly happy hereafter for our Saviour's sake. Amen.

Such was the spirit in which the Laird passed his days,—never doubting that the shadow would yet be turned upon the dial, and the irrevocable fiat of destiny be reversed. Nothing could shake that rooted confidence, which was, as it were, the light of his life. Year by year the Stuart cause declined: its pale and sickly star was setting in gloom. Finally came the news of Charles' death. But even that event, which was followed by the Episcopal congregations in Scotland beginning to pray for King George, did not change in one iota the attitude of Gask. He was firm to the last. He had named one of his daughters *Carolina*, and one of his sons *Charles*, in honour of the Pretender. He forbade his son, Laurence, when on a London visit, to approach the Hanoverian Court. He would never suffer the names of the reigning Sovereign and his Queen to be read aloud from the newspapers in his hearing, except under the initials, "K. and Q." General Stewart of Garth mentions, in his *Sketches of the Highlanders*, that King George III. "was much diverted by the ingenious method which a gentleman of Perthshire (Mr Oliphant of Gask) adopted to avoid drinking his health and to substitute that of another. Gask had christened his son Charles. The boy sat next to his father every day at dinner; and, after the cloth was removed, the old gentleman filled a bumper,

and turning round to his son, cried out, with a tap on the shoulder, 'Charles, the King's health!'" And so the embers of Jacobitism were fanned in the "auld house o' Gask," until the worthy laird, the survivor of Prestonpans, Falkirk, and Culloden, drew his parting breath on the New-Year's-Day of 1792.

The fame of the "auld house" and its family ceased not with the demise of the last Jacobite Laird. His daughter, Carolina, threw a halo of poesy around the history of her race, already celebrated over the land, for unswerving loyalty to an unfortunate cause. The romance of the '45, the tales of battle and adventure, heroic fidelity, and patient suffering, became familiar to the early years of the "Flower of Strathearn." In a word, she breathed the atmosphere of Jacobitism from her cradle: and in due time she gave the Jacobite sentiment, purified from its dross, sweet expression in song, which was hailed with popular delight; for half-a-century had smoothened down the antipathies of the Rebellion era, and no Scotsman cared to remember aught but the chivalrous daring and the misfortunes of "bonny Prince Charlie" and his adherents. She well interpreted the modern feeling,—hence her success. It was not the least remarkable trait in her character that from all but a select few (among whom her husband was not included) she carefully concealed for long the secret of her song-writing: so that some of her best pieces were attributed to authors of high name, and others were deemed the effusions of Jacobite poets who flourished before she was born. In this respect she was another "Great Unknown," and she did not drop the mask until after many years. She will ever occupy a chief place among the songstresses of Scotland. Of her domestic life and virtues we need not speak, the incidents of her career being widely known. "Carolina is the brightest jewel in the Oliphant crown." But we cannot close these desultory sketches without recalling some of her strains; and we glean from those in which her muse contemplates another and a better world:—

REST IS NOT HERE.

What's this vain world to me?

Rest is not here;

False are the smiles I see,

The mirth I hear.

Where's is youth's joyful glee?

Where all once dear to me?

Gone, as the shadows flee—

Rest is not here.

Why did the morning shine

Blythely and fair?

Why did those tints so fine

Vanish in air?

Does not the vision say,

Faint, lingering heart, away,

Why in this desert stay—

Dark land of care?

Where souls angelic soar,

Thither repair;

Let this vain world no more

Lull and ensnare.

That heaven I love so well

Still in my heart shall dwell;

All things around me tell

Rest is found there.

In the same measure, Lady Nairne, estimating aright the vanity of earthly things, declares that she would not, in her old age, desire to live her time over again here below :—

WOULD YOU BE YOUNG AGAIN?

Would you be young again?

So would not I—

One tear to Memory given,

Onward I'd hie.

Life's dark flood forded o'er,

All but at rest on shore,

Say, would you plunge once more,

With home so nigh?

If you might, would you now

Retrace your way?

Wander through stormy wilds,

Faint and astray?

Night's gloomy watches fled,

Morning all beaming red,

Hope's smiles around us shed,

Heavenward—away.

Where, then, are those dear ones,

Our joy and delight?

Dear and more dear, though now

Hidden from sight.

Where they rejoice to be,
There is the land for me;
Fly, Time, fly speedily;
Come, life and light.

This last piece was written by the authoress when she had reached her 76th year. She died at Gask on the 26th October, 1845.*

* We have again to acknowledge our obligations to Mr Kington Oliphant's *Jacobite Lairds of Gask* for most of the materials of this concluding chapter.

THE FINLARIG CHRISTENING.

————— Green Finlarig's shades,
Where chiefs of ancient fame repose—
The Campbells' treasured dead !
And where, amid the solitude
And silence of coeval wood,
Their pristine home may yet be seen,
But sad 'mid summer's bowers of green.
The night owl now usurps the hall,
The ivy creeps along the wall;
And slowly sinking, stone by stone,
Which fall unheard, unseen, alone,
Its crumbling tower steals away
With imperceptible decay.

David Miller—"The Tay."

FINLARIG is the plain or field of Fingal; and near Killin, the King of Morven, the father of Ossian, is traditionally said to lie buried,—his grave being marked by a large boulder, a stone of remembrance. At Finlarig is the burial-place of the Campbells of Glenurchy, the chiefs of Breadalbane; and there, too, they had their first baronial stronghold on the shores of Loch Tay. After the revolutions of three centuries and more the sepulchral vault of Finlarig is still the mausoleum of the family; but the Castle of Finlarig was deserted long ago, and is now a hoary ruin, open to every wind that blows, and the abode of the owl and the bat. At the head of Loch Tay, on the northern bank, and close to the village of Killin, stands Finlarig in its desolation, half-hidden amidst the thick, spreading foliage of old oaks, chestnuts, walnuts, and ashes, some of which mayhap saw the castle in its prime. The whole scene, as viewed from the impending heights, is magnificent,—its chief feature being the glorious expanse of the broad, far-stretching lake, mirroring the heavens, and bordered by mountains which tower to the region of clouds and storms,—impressing the mind with the sublime majesty and the eternal unchangeableness of the mighty forms of Nature, and awakening associations of

the past,—the wild days of the clans, their feuds and conflicts, the joys of the chase, and the spirit that inspired those memorials of the olden bards, who disclose a world and a society so different from our own, yet harmonizing with what everywhere fills our eye as we gaze abroad on the panorama of Highland loch, strath, hill, and glen.

The lands and castle of Finlarig, when first emerging into historic notice, appear as the possession of Sir John Drummond of Stobhall, brother of Annabella, the Queen of Robert III. Sir John succeeded his brother, Sir Malcolm, Earl of Mar, in default of male issue, in 1400; and afterwards the favour of James I. conferred on him the Bailiery of the Abthantry of Dull, an office of high consideration. Finlarig remained with the Drummonds till towards the close of the fifteenth century, when it passed into the hands of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, the second chief of the Breadalbane branch of the Campbells, who succeeded his father, Sir Colin, the Knight of Rhodes, in 1480. Sir Duncan's aim was the territorial aggrandisement of his house, in furtherance of which he applied himself to the acquisition of lands all round Loch Tay. In 1492 he received a royal charter to Taymouth, which had been held by the Macgregors: and on 22d April, 1503, he obtained another royal charter to Finlarig, which he had purchased from the Drummonds. Says the record known as the *Black Book of Taymouth*:—"He conquestit the heritable title of the barony of Finlarig." He fell at Flodden, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Colin. Probably the Castle of Finlarig had been much neglected by its Drummond lords; but it now became the chief seat of the Campbells; and not long after Sir Colin's accession, he built a chapel there, and dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin, as a place of sepulture for himself and his descendants. As the *Black Book of Taymouth* has it:—"He biggit the Chapel of Finlarig to be ane burial for himself and his posteritie." Accordingly this "burial" has ever since been devoted to its original purpose. Sir Colin died in

1523, and was laid in Finlarig. He left three sons,—Duncan, John, and Colin,—all of whom inherited in turn their father's estate. Colin, the youngest son, came to the noble heirship in 1550. He was among the first of the Scottish barons who espoused the doctrines of the Reformation; and he sat in the Parliament of 1560 which confirmed them by statute. The Taymouth annalist describes him as “ane great Justiciar all his time, through the whilk he restrained the deadly feud of the Clangregor, ane long space. And besides that, he caused execute to the death mony notable lymmars. He beheaded the laird of Macgregor himself at Kenmore, in presence of the Earl of Athole, the Justice-Clerk, and sundry other noblemen.” One of the “notable lymmars,” or Highland caterans, whom he executed to the death, was the famous marauder, Duncan Laideus. Sir Colin “conquessit the superiority of M’Nab, his haill lands.” He also erected a castle at Balloch, (now Taymouth), part of which is incorporated with the present stately edifice. Balloch was built, says tradition, on the spot where its founder first heard the blackbird sing as he passed down the glen. But in 1583, the “great justiciar” was removed from the busy scene of his judicial and architectural labours, and in his stead was installed his son, Duncan, familiarly known in Highland story as *Donacha dhu na curich*,—“Black Duncan of the Cowl,”—from the cowl or hood which he usually wore, and in which he is drawn in his portrait at Taymouth.

The knight of the cowl left his mark upon his times. He was a man of great energy, and he turned his mind to the improvement of the vast estates over which he was privileged to bear sway for the long period of eight-and-forty years. Many beneficial changes were effected by him in Breadalbane. He built castles and bridges, he planted trees, he raised embankments against floods, and in many ways ameliorated the condition of the lands, while also endeavouring to elevate the social condition of the people. He found the Castle of Finlarig verging on decay, and he resolved

to re-edify it. As the *Black Book* says, he "in his time biggit the Castle of Finlarig, pit, and office-houses thereof; repaired the chapel thereof, and decorated the same inwardly with pavement and painting; for the bigging and workmanship whereof he gave ten thousand pounds." He likewise "caused make parks in Balloch, Finlarg, Glenlochy, and Glenurchy, and caused sow acorns and seed of fir therein, and planted in the same young fir and birch." Moreover, he revived and enforced the old Scottish law whereby tenants and cottars were bound to plant a few trees about their homesteads,—his Baron Court directing that "every holder of a merkland" should plant five trees; "every cottar three,—either oak, ash, or plane,—to be planted out, when ready to take up, in the most commodious places of their occupation. The lord's gardener to furnish the trees for two pennies the piece." Black Duncan seems to have been the first to introduce the fallow deer into Scotland. He was also famed for the breeding of horses; and his inveterate enemies, the Macgregors, knew that they could not injure him more deeply than when they killed forty of his brood mares at one swoop in Glenurchy, together with a fine horse which had been sent from London as a present from Prince Henry, in exchange for a gift of eagles. In endeavouring to reform the habits of his dependants, his Baron Court decreed "that no man shall in any public-house drink more than a chopin of ale with his neighbour's wife, in the absence of her husband, upon the penalty of ten pounds, and sitting twenty-four hours in the stocks, to-ties quoties."

The chief resided alternately at Balloch and Finlarig Castles. His Household Books contain minute details of the modes and cost of living of his family. During the year 1590, the oatmeal (baked and unbaked) consumed was 364 bolls, excluding the "horse-corn;" malt, 207 bolls; beeves, 90; sheep, 200; swine, 20; salmon (mostly from the western rivers), 424; herrings, 1500; hard fish, 30 dozen; cheese, 325 stone; butter, 49 stone; loaves of wheaten bread, 26 dozen; wheat flour,

3½ bolls; with claret and white wine, and other luxuries. In these books were also entered the names of distinguished visitors, as, for example :—At Finlarig, “beginning the 28 of June, 1590, and spendit till the 5 of July; the Laird and Lady present, my Lord Bothwell, the Earl Menteith, my Lord Inchaffray, with sundry other strangers.” The Inventories of Plenissing, dating from 1598, throw much light on the furniture, &c., of a baronial seat in the heart of the Highlands. But some of the items are of dark import. There were in Finlarig, sundry chains and fetters and shackles; a headsman’s axe; and four instruments of torture—the “*Glaslawis*, charged with four shackles,” in which we may recognise the *Caschielawis* or *Caspicaws*, signifying “warm hose,” used for compelling prisoners to confess: the leg being placed in an iron frame, and put in a furnace, and as the iron heated, the questions were asked. And at Finlarig, too, or at Balloch, was treasured the curious heirloom, “ane stone of the quantity of half a hen’s egg set in silver, being flat at the one end and round at the other like a pear, whilk Sir Colin Campbell, first Laird of Glenurchy, wore when he fought at the Rhodes against the Turks, he being one of the Knights of the Rhodes.” The merits of Black Duncan were recognised and acknowledged by Charles I., who appointed him Sheriff of Perthshire for life, and created him a Baronet of Nova Scotia. When the King was mustering soldiers for the war with France, he wrote him a letter desiring that he should send forward a contingent of the Highland archers whose fame had reached the English court :—

To our trusty and well-beloved, the Laird of Glenurchy.

CHARLES R. Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we have given warrant unto Alexander M’Naughton, gentleman of our privy chamber in ordinary, for levying two hundred bowmen in that our kingdom, for our service in the war wherein we are engaged with France; and being informed that the persons in those high countries are ordinarily good bowmen, we are hereby well pleased to desire you to use your best means to cause levy such a number of them for our said servant as possibly you can, he performing such conditions with them as are usual in the like cases, which we will take as a special

pleasure unto us, whereof we will not be unmindful when any occasion shall offer whereby we may express our respect unto you. So we bid you farewell. From our court at Windsor, the 12 of August, 1627.

It is to be presumed that the best of the Breadalbane bowmen were selected and marched to the south.

The old Chieftain's days came to an end in June, 1631, and of his two sons, Colin and Robert, the eldest succeeded him. Sir Colin followed in his father's footsteps as a great planter, and builder, and general improver. The father had supplied the King with a party of archers; and the son was requested to despatch a body of armed Highlanders to Perth on the occasion of the royal visit to that city in July, 1633. Thus the Privy Council wrote :—

To our right traist friend the Laird of Glenurchy.

After our very hearty commendations. Whereas the King's Majesty is most solicit and desirous that the time of his being at Perth there may be a show and muster made of Highlandmen, in their country habit and best order, for the better performance whereof these are to entreat and desire you to single out and convene a number of your friends, followers, and dependers, men personable for stature, and in their best array and equipage, with trews, bows, dorlocks, and others their ordinary weapons and furniture, and to send them to the said burgh of Perth upon Monday the eight day of July next, whereby his Majesty may receive contentment, the country credit, and yourself thanks; and so looking for your precise keeping of this diet in manner foresaid, we commit you to God. From Holyroodhouse, the xxix day of June, 1633. Your very good friends,

G. KINNOUL, Cancellarius.

MORTON

WIGTOUN, TULLIBARDIN, LAUDERDALE, MELUILL.

We can well conceive how gladly the clans would gather "all plaided and plumed in their tartan array," for the royal fete in the Fair City. Sir Colin seems to have had a peaceful time, so that he was able to pursue his rural improvements unchecked, while he also evinced himself as fond of classical learning, and as a patron of the fine arts. He engaged painters to decorate the walls of Taymouth with pictures. It is noticed that he "bestowed and gave to ane German painter, whom he entertained in his house eight month," while at work, "the sum of ane thousand pounds."

Who this foreigner was is not known; but we find that Sir Colin employed the pencil of George Jameson, the celebrated Scottish limner, many of whose works are to be seen in Taymouth Castle. Writing from Edinburgh, on 23d June, 1635, Jameson signifies his willingness to execute sixteen pictures for Sir Colin, and states his scale of prices. "I will very willingly serve your worship," he says, "and my price shall be but the ordinary, since the measure is just the ordinary. The price whilk every one pays to me, above the waist, is twenty merks, I furnishing claith and colours; but if I furnish ane double gilt muller [picture frame], then it is twenty pounds. Thus I deal with all alike; but I am more bound to have ane great care of your worship's service, because of my good payment for my last employment": and he adds—"If I begin the pictures in July, I will have the sixteen ready about the last of September." In the same year, Sir Colin, we are told, "gave unto George Jameson, painter in Edinburgh, for King Robert and King David Bruces, Kings of Scotland, and Charles I., King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and his Majesty's Queen, and for nine more of the Queens of Scotland, their portraits, whilk are set up in the hall of Balloch, the sum of twa hundred three-score pounds. Mair, the said Sir Colin gave to the said George Jameson for the knight of Lochow's lady, and the first Countess of Argyle, and six of the ladies of Glenurchy, their portraits, whilk are set up in the chalmer of dais of Balloch, ane hundred fourscore pounds." So much appreciation of art was certainly uncommon in the Highlands of Perthshire at the era referred to. Sir Colin died on 6th September, 1640, aged 63. He had no children; and the patrimony, therefore, went to Robert, his brother. The Inventory which was made up after Sir Colin's demise specifies "ane pair of little organs in the chapel of Finlarg, and ane pair of harpsichords in Balloch."

Sir Robert thus became Chief of Breadalbane at the beginning of the Civil War; and as he took the Covenanting side in the struggle, his lands suffered

severe ravage from the clans who supported Montrose. "In the year of God 1644 and 1645," says the old record, "the Laird of Glenurchy his whole lands and estate, betwixt the ford of Lyon and point of Lismore, were burnt and destroyed by James Graham, sometime Earl of Montrose, and Alexander M'Donald, son to Coll M'Donald in Colesne, with their associates. The tenants' whole cattle were taken away by their enemies; and their corns, houses, plenishing, and whole insight were burnt; and the said Sir Robert pressing to get the inhabitants repaired, wairit £48 Scots upon the bigging of every cuple in his lands, and also wairit seed-corns, upon his own charges, to the most of his inhabitants:" the total loss caused by the ravage exceeding the sum of 1,200,000 merks. But the traditionary story, which we are now to relate, has no connection with the Civil War: it concerns a feud which arose from the predatory habits of the Gael, who

Never thought it wrang to ca' a prey,
Their auld forebears practis'd it a' their days,
And ne'er the worse for that did set their claise.

Before Sir Robert became Chieftain, one of his children was baptised at Finlarig, and a numerous company of the Campbell race and their friends and allies assembled to witness the holy rite, and to hold festival on the auspicious occasion. Doubtless before being brought to the baptismal font, the child of Breadalbane secretly underwent certain rude spells of Celtic superstition. It would be jealously watched lest the Fairies should steal it away and substitute a changeling. Experienced crones and wise men of the glens would put the infant in a basket containing bread and cheese, and covered with a white linen cloth, and swing it three times round the fire, exclaiming—"Let the flame consume thee now or never!" This was considered a preservative against the power of Satan; but it was not the less an evident vestige of that passing of children through the fire to Moloch, which was one of the gross abominations of ancient heathenism. Then came the Christian ceremonial, and

the child was admitted into the bosom of the visible Church. The feast was spread in the great hall of the Castle, and the guests sat down round an ample board. They pledged in flowing bowls the rooftree of Finlarig, the lord and his lady, and their youngest born. But while the cup circulated, and Highland songs were sung, and Seannachies chanted the roll of Campbell genealogy, and universal joy and revelry prevailed,—the bagpipes pealing on the green where the humbler dependants danced merrily,—tidings reached the Castle which suddenly changed the glad spirit and aspect of the scene. In ran a breathless clansman with the news that a band of the Macdonalds of Keppoch had made a foray on the lands of some of Sir Robert's friends, and, having driven off a large booty of cattle and other spoil, were just then crossing the neighbouring hill of Stroneclachan, fearing no danger, as they knew how the Campbells were engaged at Finlarig. The guests started to their feet and grasped their weapons, clamouring to be led out against the marauders. Confident in their own strength and prowess, they sallied forth in swift pursuit. Up the hill they sped, and soon came in sight of the Macdonalds, who halted to give battle. The Campbells rushed on with heedless bravery; but being overtaken with the chase, and considerably outnumbered, they were driven back in confusion, and at last forced to retreat, leaving twenty cadets of the family dead on the fatal field. When the fugitives returned to Finlarig with the miserable tale of their defeat, Sir Robert despatched messengers to bring in all the power that could be speedily raised on the shores of Loch Tay. A strong force being raised, the Knight placed himself at the head of his clansman, and led the way to vengeance. Time had been lost; but the Macdonalds were ultimately overtaken on the braes of Glenurchy, where they were attacked with vigour and success. After an obstinate conflict, they were put to flight, their chieftain's brother was slain, and the whole *creach* fell into the hands of the victors, who came back in triumph.

Such is the legend of the Finlarig Christening, which was related to Mr Pennant, a hundred years ago, when he visited Loch Tay-side, and which he deemed worthy of insertion in his *Tour*. Speaking of the Castle, he says that "tradition is loud in report of the hospitality of the place, and blends it with tales of gallantry; one of festivity, terminating in blood and slaughter." But upon what foundation in fact the story may have arisen we cannot determine; although we are disposed to think that it partly relates, in a confused way, to what is known as the "Chase of Ranefray," in which Sir Robert, during his father's lifetime, inflicted a severe defeat on those irreconcilable foes of his house, the Clan Gregor. According to the *Black Book*, this fray happened in the year 1610. "Robert Campbell, second son of the Laird, Sir Duncan, pursuing ane great number of them"—the Macgregors—"through the country, in end overtook them in Ranefray, in the Brae of Glenurchy; where he slew Duncan Abrok Macgregor, with his son Gregor in Ardehyllie, Dougall Macgregor M'Coulchier in Glengyle, with his son Duncan, Charles Macgregor M'Cane in Bracklie, wha was principals in that band; and twenty others of their accomplices slain in the chase." The same event is recounted by Sir Robert Gordon, in his *History of the Earldom of Sutherland*. At Bintoich, he writes, "Robert Campbell, the Laird of Glenurchy, his son, accompanied with some of the Clan Cameron, Clanab, and Clan Ranald, to the number of two hundred chosen men, fought against three score of the Clan Gregor; in which conflict two of the Clan Gregor were slain, to wit, Duncan Aberigh, one of the chieftains, and his son Duncan. Seven gentlemen of the Campbells' side were killed there, though they seemed to have the victory." As will be noticed, Gordon does not give nearly so high-coloured an account of the affair as the Taymouth annalist, who had a personal interest in magnifying the exploit. But as we hinted before, the probability seems tolerably good that the tradition told to the English traveller was partly a version of the pursuit of the Macgregors.

The Castle of Finlarig continued as one of the principal seats of the Breadalbane chiefs till about the end of the seventeenth century. At the Revolution, it was considered of so much importance as a place of strength that it was held for some time by Government troops. Afterwards it was gradually abandoned, and allowed to decay. During the Rebellion of 1745, however, it again became a Government post, being occupied by the Argyleshire Militia. But for long it has been a deserted, crumbling, ivy-clad pile of ruins,—the gaunt skeleton of what it was in the olden days when the Glenurchy knights held their state within its walls.*

* *Black Book of Taymouth*; Innes' *Sketches of Early Scottish History*; Logan's *Scottish Gael*, vol. ii., p. 364; Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii., p. 77; Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 21; Gordon's *History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 247. It is necessary to mention that General Stewart, in his *Sketches of the Highlanders* (vol. ii. appendix, p. 22) gives a different version of the fight between the Macdonalds and Campbells. He places it in the days of the first Earl of Breadalbane, and shortly previous to his being raised to the peerage (as Earl of Caithness) in 1677. The gathering of the Campbells at Finlarig was "to celebrate the marriage of a daughter of the family;" and we find that the Earl had only one daughter, Mary, who became the wife of Cockburn of Langton. The Campbells were "driven back with great loss, principally caused by the arrows of the Lochaber men;" nineteen cadets of the Campbells were slain; Colonel Menzies of Culdares, who was on the same side, received nine arrow wounds; and nothing is said of a subsequent pursuit and defeat of the Macdonalds. But we have adopted Mr Pennant's version, as having at least the apparent priority of date; for there can be little doubt, we imagine, that the story was told him, as he has related it, when he visited the Breadalbane country and Finlarig in 1772: though possibly two separate feuds were confounded together in the telling.

THE DOMINICAN MONASTERY AT PERTH.—

Part 1st.

"[Oh ! have you never heard of the Black Friar,
The spirit of these walls ? " " In truth, not I."
" Why, Fame—but Fame, you know's sometimes a liar—
Tells an odd story, of which by and by :
Whether with time the spectre has grown shyer,
Or that our sires had a more gifted eye
For such sights, though the tale is half believed,
The Friar of late has not been oft perceived."

Don Juan.

" WE had no Dominicans or Franciscans in Scotland," says Forbes, in his *Treatise of Church-lands and Tithes*, " till a sample of 'em came from France with Bishop Malvoisin, in the year 1219. But they soon got into a mighty esteem with the people, invaded the pulpits, and lessened the reputation of the priests." If the date thus assigned to the first appearance of the Black Friars in Scotland were correct (which we believe it is not) they must have arrived some two years prior to the death of their master, St Dominic, which took place in 1221. Within a dozen of years, however, after his decease, nine monasteries of his order were established in Scotland, eight of which were founded by Alexander II., whose exceeding generosity towards the new fraternity was somewhat remarkable in that age. But Dominic himself was a remarkable man, one of those fervid enthusiasts, swallowed up of zeal and untiring in energy, who at various times arose within the Church of Rome, and laboured to maintain her power by organizations of spiritual militia sworn to defend her doctrines and pretensions, and to fight her battles. Let us glance cursorily at the story of his life.

Dominic was a Spaniard,—born on the banks of the Douro, in Old Castile,—the third son of Don Felix de Gusman and his spouse, Jane de Aza,—and he first saw the light in 1170. The hagiographers aver that mystic signs and portents attended the birth and infancy of this "glorious patriarch, light of the world, pillar of

the Church, bulwark of the faith." Bees swarmed about his mouth while he slumbered in his cradle—a sure presage of his future eloquence : and the semblance of a bright star beamed on his brow when he was carried to the baptismal font. Early his heart yearned for a religious life, He entered the University of Valencia, and during his student days was distinguished above all his fellows by an overflowing charity, which caused him to dispense to the needy everything that he possessed, and on one occasion to offer to sell himself into slavery for the purpose of ransoming from cruel bondage the brother of a poor woman who besought his aid. From Valencia he went to Osma, and became a canon-regular under the Bishop of that city, spending there nine years. Another Bishop succeeded, who, perceiving the eminent merit of Dominic, attached himself as a bosom friend to the youthful saint. Time now evolved the crisis when the grand path of Dominic's career opened before him. The Albigenses were at the height of their "heresy:" and Papal Rome, under Innocent III., was about to put forth her utmost strength to purge out the hateful leaven. The Bishop of Osma and Dominic repaired to the troubled province, and there it was soon made manifest that an able defender of the faith was come on the stage. Joined by a few brethren, Dominic began a course of preaching to the heretics, and is said to have met with much success,—miracles frequently confirming the indefatigable Spaniard's ministry, and confounding his adversaries. He advanced from one system of effort to another, sparing no pains to wean strayed sheep back to the Papal fold. Yet despite preaching and disputation, backed by miraculous interpositions, the heresy took firmer root and spread. The Pope assumed the temporal sword : a Crusade was proclaimed : soldiers were mustered for a holy war : and at their head was placed Simon de Montfort, a fierce and relentless leader. The Albigensian territories were invaded, and the troops of the Church conducted the campaign with savage barbarity, massacring foes and friends indis-

criminally, on the word of a Romish Abbot—"Kill them all: God will know his own!" Dominic joined the crusading host. At one of the battles he marched in the front rank, bearing aloft a large crucifix, to which, while the conflict raged, all the enemy's arrows were supernaturally attracted, sparing the Papal soldiery! When the war was over, and heresy apparently crushed, Dominic's busy brain devised a method whereby the victory might be perpetuated. This was the formation of a *new Order of Friars*, men devoted to poverty, who should traverse hither and thither, preaching and confuting the gainsayers of the faith. Six followers enlisted under him, and this meagre handful became the nucleus of a great brotherhood. To impart peculiar distinction to his Order in their manner of worship, he originated the *Rosary*: and, lastly, he drew out the scheme of the *Inquisition*,—the most formidable and effective engine of oppression ever called into existence. The wise heads at Rome were not slow to appreciate the worth of Dominic's expedients. The new Order, the Rosary, and the Inquisition were finally confirmed by Pope Honorius III.; and Dominic was constituted *Magister* of his *Fratres prædicatores*,—so called from their preaching, and also *Black Friars* from their sable habit, and *Dominicans* from the name of their founder: while the working out of the Inquisition was committed to their hands. According to the hagiographers' legends, the Spanish enthusiast's sanctity was attested by many miracles: he healed the sick, he raised the dead, he was visited by angels, he saw heavenly visions. But his end was nigh. He died at Bologna, on Friday, 6th August, 1221, in the full vigour of his manhood, only fifty-five. Shortly before, and while in good health, he had predicted the day of his death, and the prophecy was fulfilled to the letter. Sudden dysentery and fever carried him off. He was duly canonized, and his festival fixed for the 4th August.

Nine years after the Saint's decease—in 1230, according to the best authorities—the Bishop of St Andrews,

William Malvoisin, a Frenchman, brought Dominicans and Franciscans to Scotland; and the strangers were presented to Alexander II., and were well received. "The King, who looked no farther than the devout profession they made," says Archbishop Spottiswoode, "gave them all a kind reception." He did more. He began founding monasteries for the Dominicans, whose pretensions seem to have powerfully impressed the royal mind. In that same year, 1230, four monasteries were founded at Edinburgh, Berwick, Ayr and Montrose; and in 1231, the King founded one at Perth, the capital of the kingdom. The monastery at Perth was built beyond the walls, on the north side of the town. It was a spacious edifice, and contained, besides the usual cloisters of the Friars, stately chambers and galleries. A church was erected adjoining, dedicated to the virgin and St Dominic, and of large dimensions, as one of the main objects of the fraternity was to draw crowds to their preaching. Gardens were laid out for the recreation of the brotherhood; and a burying-ground was set apart; but this cemetery would appear to have been a place of interment before the Christian era, as recent excavations revealed stone cists, sepulchral memorials of a pre-historic age. All the ground for the monastery and its adjuncts was gifted by the King, whose residence, the Castle of Perth, was close at hand, on the west side of what is now the Curfew Lane; for the old royal palace, at the foot of the High Street, had been swept away by the great flood of 1210. The Dominican was the first monastery of any order which was erected at Perth, and doubtless the citizens regarded the buildings as a notably-ornamental acquisition to the town. The exact site of the monastery (as described by a gentleman well versed in local antiquities) was at the corner of the present Kinnoull Street and Carpenter Street, and part of the ruins could be seen before the building of Mr Lowe's Academy, now a Mission-Hall. The burying-ground lay on the north. Its northern boundary ran along Athole Street, commencing at the west side of the centre entrance to Athole Crescent,

but going not so far west as Mr Jamieson's manufactory, the old Theatre-Royal: the east boundary was to the west of No. 4 Athole Crescent, running S.S.E., and finishing opposite No. 1 Union Street, taking in the west division of Carpenter Street. The south and west boundaries cannot be ascertained, as they are covered with houses; but Kinnoull Street was without the boundary. The well of the monastery is in the garden of No. 6 Athole Crescent.

The earlier records and charters of the establishment have perished. The oldest existing document is a Writ by Alexander II., dated at Forfar, 31st October, 1241, addressed to the Provost of Perth (or Receiver of the King's *fermes* or rents in town), ordaining him to give annually to the *Fratres prædicatores*, Friars Preachers, or Preaching Friars, a cake of wax. Another gift was made by the King at Holyrood, 7th June 1244. Out of "regard to godly charity, to God, to the Blessed Mary, and to the Predicant Friars of Perth, serving and to serve God there for ever," he granted to the Monastery the King's Garden, and a conduit or pipe of water, from the reservoir (or mill-dam) of the King's Mill at Perth, of the width of four inches. Alexander died in 1249, and his son, Alexander III., succeeded him on the throne. The new sovereign, by a writ dated at Scone, 31st May, 1251, directed to the Provosts of Perth (or Receivers foresaid), confirmed the grant made by his father of the cake of wax for lighting the monastic church on the day of the nativity of St John Baptist, at the dedication of the same, and also ordained an additional payment out of his *fermes* of Perth for feeding the friars one day in every week. At Scone, on 10th October, 1265, Alexander gave another benefaction. He granted ten chalders of malt, and five chalders of wheat, to be paid yearly to the Predicant Friars of Perth, out of the King's *fermes* of Craigie and Magdalene, by the Provosts of Perth and the tenants of the said lands; also £7 16s, to be paid yearly by the Provosts of Perth out of the ferme of the burgh of Perth to the Predicant Friars for annual

maintenance; and also one cake of wax to be delivered to the Friars at the season of the year when the market is best. It seems that Alexander made a subsequent grant, the documentary evidence of which became lost. He died on 16th March, 1285-86; between which date and the accession of John Baliol there was no sovereign in Scotland—the Maid of Norway having died on her voyage hither. Baliol's reign began on 17th November, 1292; and two days afterwards the Black Friars procured from certain burgesses of Perth a certificate testifying that they had been in use to deliver to the Monastery, on the part of King Alexander, both during his life and since his decease, a hogshead of wine and a chalder of wheat annually. The object of the letter was evidently to induce King John to confirm and continue his predecessor's benefaction.

To all who shall see or shall hear these letters: John Hailboch, John de Perth, John Richardson, John Auld, Robert called Fisher, Duncan de Cellars, burgesses of Perth, wish eternal salvation in the Lord. Know every one, that besides other alms which we have been in use to deliver to the Predicant Friars of Perth on the part of our Sovereign Lord, King Alexander, of worthy memory, we have delivered to the said Friars, on the part of the same Sovereign Lord our King, as well during his life as since his death, one hogshead of wine and one chalder of wheat, for the celebration of divine mysteries. In testimony of which, we have thought it good to append our seals to this letter. Given at Perth, on the 8th day of St Martin, in the year of our Lord 1292.

In all likelihood the new King gave confirmation, though it is not extant. Only one new grant to the monastery appears to have been made during this brief and inglorious reign. Probably about the year 1294—before Baliol rebelled against his Lord Paramount, and the country was still in the enjoyment of peace—John Moncreiff of that Ilk granted eight bolls of barley, eight bolls of oats, and four bolls of wheat, to be paid yearly for ever to the Predicants of Perth, for the sustenance of the Friars; and to be delivered to them before the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This charter was ratified by the seal of William (Fraser), Bishop of St Andrews; and among

the witnesses were William de Carnegie, Alderman of Perth; Sir Robert, Vicar of Perth; Solomon de Dundas; and Patronilla de Moncreiff. About the year 1312, the same grant was confirmed and renewed by the Laird of Moncreiff.

After the War of Independence had closed with Bannockburn, and the throne of Bruce was established, the King became a patron of the Black Friars of Perth: and with good reason; for, apparently, the Castle of Perth having been dismantled during the course of hostilities, there was no other building capable of affording accommodation for the King and his train when in Perth than the stately house of the Dominicans, which was thus honoured as the occasional residence of royalty. At Perth, on 12th April, 1316, King Robert confirmed the grants of his predecessor, Alexander III., and gave 44 marks sterling to be paid yearly to the Predicant Friars of Perth, one-half out of the King's fermes of Perth, and the other half out of the customs called "Maltoth" of the towns of Perth and Dundee. Bruce made another grant, on 2nd February, 1319-20, of 40 cartloads of peats out of the forfeited estate of Logie, which belonged to the late Sir John de Logie, Knight, the said peats to be dried and carried all the way to the house of the Predicant Friars of Perth by the people of the said estate, which gift was confirmed on the 26th April, 1323. A third grant by this monarch is recorded. At Aberbrothock, on 8th January, 1322-23, the King granted a charter conferring on the Black Friars exemption from the payment of multures out of five chalders of wheat and ten chalders of barley, which had been granted them annually by Alexander III. from the fermes of Craigie and Magdalene, and also out of all kinds of grain for their use ground at the King's Mills of Perth; also granting to the Friars the privilege that their grain should lie in the said mills room-free, after his own grain, the grain of his Chancellors, Justiciars, and Chamberlains, and the grain of any other person found at the mills, in the measure of three bushels. This charter was confirmed at Berwick, on 26th April,

1323, when ten chalders of malt were substituted for that quantity of barley, to correspond with the original grant by King Alexander. Another benefactor now appears. On the 6th May, 1324, Sir Gilbert Hay of Errol (Constable of Scotland), gifted 20s sterling to be paid annually out of his lands and orchard at Inchyra, to the Predicant Friars of Perth, in pure and perpetual alms to Almighty God and to the blessed Dominic, for the maintenance of one burning lamp in the choir, and another burning lamp before the great cross in the church of the said friars, to be paid one half at the Feast of Pentecost, and the other half at the Feast of St Martin in the winter. These were all the grants made to the monastery, up to the end of Robert Bruce's reign, the writs of which have been preserved. Pausing here in our progress, we shall revert to an important feature in the history of the monastery, namely, the National Councils of the Scottish Church, many of which were held under the roof of the Dominicans at Perth. In the same house were also held the annual Chapters or Conventions of the Dominican Order throughout Scotland.

The first National Council which is stated to have assembled in the city of Perth, took place in 1201, thirty years before the establishment of the Blackfriars Monastery. This Council was presided over by John de Salerno, Cardinal of *Sancti Stephani in Monte Caelio*. He brought with him presents from Pope Innocent III. to King William the Lion, consisting of a sword set with precious stones and a purple hat shaped like a diadem. He also brought "a large Bull of privileges, whereby the Church of Scotland was exempted from all ecclesiastical censures, the Pope himself and his Legate only excepted": the Bull declaring "that it should not be lawful to any to excommunicate the King, and his successors, nor yet to interdict the kingdom, but the Pope or his Legate; and that no stranger should exercise any legation within the realm, except a Cardinal, or such a one as the conclave did appoint." Hoveden, the English chronicler, says that

the Cardinal—"this same John ate not flesh, neither drank he wine nor strong drink, nor anything where-with he might be drunken; howbeit he thirsted after gold and silver." The sessions of the Council at Perth lasted four days; and various canons or regulations were framed and enacted for the observance of the Scottish Church, and for the reformation of the manners of its clergy. But this Council is memorable for a decree which ordained "that every Saturday from twelve of the clock should be kept as holiday, and that all people, at the sound of the bell, should address themselves to hear service, and abstain from all handi-work until Monday morning": being, in fact, the institution, six centuries ago, of that Saturday half-holiday, which was re-introduced, as a boon to the working-classes, in our own day. Boece asserts that the decree was ratified by the Scottish Parliament; but no such ratification can be found. It has been conjectured that the decree was passed in compliance with a pretended "signed mandate from heaven," which was shewn to Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, by Eustace, Abbot of Flay, and which enjoined that no man should do any work from the ninth hour on Saturday afternoon until sun-rise on Monday, and that if any transgressed, there should stones, wood, and scalding water be rained down from the sky all night, and wild beasts be let loose upon them! But, as Lord Hailes observes, "if this nonsense gave occasion to the decree of the Scottish Council, it may seem strange that the decree should prolong Sunday beyond the tenor of that mandate which descended from heaven." The Council, moreover, deposed all priests, it is said, who were proved to have taken orders on Sunday. Another Council was held at Perth, in April, 1206. Again, a Council was held there, in 1211, by William Malvoisin, Bishop of St Andrews, and Walter, Bishop of Glasgow, possessing legatine powers from Pope Innocent III. The crusading mania then agitated Europe, and the main object of the convocation was to promote the adoption of the Cross in Scotland. A

great number of people took the Cross; but, as a historian confesses, "not many rich, not many mighty." In 1221, a Council sat at Perth during four days in the month of February.

Shortly after the establishment of the Dominican Monastery it was made the place of meeting of a Council. The Council was indicted to be held *in domo Fratrum Prædicatorum de Perth*, on Wednesday before the feast of St Luke, in October, but the year is omitted. In the Act calling this Council, "we have," says Father Innes, "the form of the bishop conservator, his indicting or convoking the yearly council, *authoritate conservatoria*, as the act bears, by a letter to each bishop, charging him to give his presence at such a place (which was commonly the convent of the Blackfriars of Perth), on such a day, with continuation of days, together with the abbots and priors, the proctors of chapters, colleges, and convents of his diocese; there to treat of the reformation of the state of the Church, &c." Probably it was this, the first Council, in the Blackfriars which passed the canon that every parish priest shall enjoy the privilege of pasturing his cattle over the parish. It may be concluded that most, if not all, of the subsequent Councils convoked at Perth, were held in the Monastery or the Church of the Dominicans, although the place of assembly is not always stated. In 1242, a Council sat in Perth, presided over by David Bernham, Bishop of St Andrews. King Alexander II. attended, and issued an ordinance enjoining his knights and barons, under severe penalties, to abstain from injuring the clergy, or encroaching upon the customary privileges of the Church. The canons of this Council were ratified by the King and Estates, and continued in observance until the Reformation, and have been printed by Lord Hailes, along with those of a Council which met at Perth in 1269. The Council of 1269 excommunicated the Abbot of Melrose and the greater part of his conventual brethren, they being charged with having broken the peace of Wedal, attacked some houses belonging to the Bishop of St

Andrews, and murdered one clergyman and wounded many others! In 1275 occurred a Council of great national importance. Bagimond, the Pope's Nuncio, came to Scotland for the express purpose of collecting the tenth of ecclesiastical benefices within the realm for the relief of the Holy Land. He held a Council at Perth, when all the clergy paid the tithe, with the exception of the Cistercians, who had already compounded by a general aid of 50,000 marks. The Roll which the Nuncio drew up of the rental of the benefices was long used in Scotland as a rule, and was recognised by Parliament. In 1280, a Council was held at the Blackfriars of Perth, on the Monday after St Bartholmew's Day in August. In July, 1321, a Council met at Perth. On 16th July, 1420, a Council assembled at the Blackfriars of Perth, under William, Bishop of Dunblane. A Council was held at Perth, in 1428, during the sitting of Parliament. On 4th February, 1436, the Papal legate, Antoninus, Bishop of Urbino, was received by the King and the clergy at a Council in Perth. In 1457, there was a Council at Perth, when a declaration was given regarding the King's right of nomination to benefices during the vacancy of bishoprics, &c.; and this was renewed by a Council which met at Perth in 1459. On the Festival of St Kynelin, Martyr (an English saint, King of the Mercians, who was treacherously murdered in 819, and whose festival was on 17th July), a Council was held at Perth, in 1465 "according to laudable and ancient custom," says the Chartutary of Arbroath, "and with permission of the Papal see." This seems to have been the last Council which assembled at Perth. The last Council of the Scottish Church sat at Edinburgh on 2d March, 1558-59, and continued till April following, when, after a fruitless attempt to effect a compromise with the Protestants, it "separated to meet no more": and then came the Reformation and the rise of the General Assembly.*

* Forbes' *Treatise on Tithes*, p. 13; Lacordaire's *Vie de Saint Dominique*. Paris, 1841; Butler's *Lives of the Saints*;

THE DOMINICAN MONASTERY AT PERTH.
Part 2d.

Qwhen thretty for thretty faucht in barreris
At Sanctjohnstoun, on a day, besyde the Blackfreris.
Wyntoun's "Cronykil."

THE records of the Monastery still extant do not shew many grants during the reign of David II., which lasted from 1329 to 1371; but this may be accounted for by the national troubles and disasters with which so much of that period was filled. On 3rd July, 1333, Sir John Brown, knight (father of Richard Brown, an Esquire, who was executed for his complicity with the Soulis conspiracy against King Robert Bruce) granted to the Friars seven acres of arable land, lying without the burgh of Perth, and between Salcur on the south side and the land of Balhousie on the north side, above the land of Salcur of the said Friars, for their sustenance and the repair of their buildings, also for their performance of an anniversary on behalf of the donor, and of his son, who lay buried with them, and of his successors to the latest generation. In 1334, on Sunday within the Octaves of Ascension, Sir John of Inchmartyn granted to the Friars, for the annual entertainment of the chapterly convention of the whole Order within Scotland, the sum of 20s, payable out of his lands of Kynhard and other lands in the earldom of Athole; and also for the same purpose four bolls of good wheat, and eight bolls of good barley, out of his granary of Inchmartyn : which charter was confirmed,

Father Innes' *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*. Edition of 1879, pp. 320-325; Spottiswoode's "Account of the Religious Houses in Scotland"; Archbishop Spottiswoode's *History of the Church of Scotland*; *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 713; Lawson's *Book of Perth*; Lord Hailes' *Canons of the Church of Scotland, 1242 and 1269*, and *Historical Memorials concerning the Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy*.

on 1st March, 1369, by Alan of Erskyn, Lord of Inchmarty, with consent of his wife, Isabel, the heiress of John of Inchmarty; and Alan also, at the request of his wife, added other four bolls of good wheat. It seems that the grant by Robert Bruce, in 1316, of 22 marks sterling, to be paid out of the customs of Perth and Dundee, eventually came to be regarded as a grievance by the burgesses of both towns, who refused to pay the same; and we find that King David addressed a precept at Stirling, on 15th November, 1345, to the Magistrates of Perth, in consequence of a complaint from his "beloved chaplains, the Predicant Friars," ordaining the money to be paid; but even this mandate did not put an effectual stop to the opposition.

At the close of the reign of David II. we may make another pause, for the purpose of endeavouring to ascertain how many religious houses (exclusive of the Parish Church of St John) had been established by that time in the town of Perth and vicinity—an enquiry attended with some difficulty. *The Chapel of our Lady*, at the foot of the High Street, was existing in 1210 when it suffered great damage from the inundation of the Tay. The *Dominican Monastery* was the first Monastery erected at Perth, having been founded, as already said, in 1231, by Alexander II. Thirty years afterwards—in 1262—Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld, built a large house at Tullilum for the Order of *White Friars*, or Friars of the Order of the Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel. Sometime before 1296, the Cistercian *Priory of St Leonard* was founded on the west of the town. The *Nunnery, Chapel, and Hospital of St Mary Magdalene*, situated about a mile south of the town; and the *Chapel of St Lawrence*, in the Castle Gable, occupying part of the ground previously belonging to the ancient Castle of Perth,—are both mentioned in the first half of the fourteenth century. The *Chapel of St James the Apostle and St Thomas a Becket*, on the south side of St John's Church, was ruinous about 1400, having been founded long before; and the Provost and community of Perth, with the assistance of William Whitson, a

worthy burgess of the town, rebuilt the edifice, which was then called the "New Chapel of St James." Regarding the dates of some other chapels we cannot speak with certainty, namely—the *Chapel and Hospital of St Anne*, in the lane called St Anne's Vennel, on the south side of St John's Church: the *Rood Chapel*, or Chapel of the Holy Cross, on the north side of the South Street Port: and the *Chapel of Loretto*, also standing near the head of the South Street, on the north side. In relation to this latter Chapel (which was an imitation of the famous original at Loretto, in Italy) we may state that it could not have existed earlier than the fourteenth century. Only in the year 1291, during the pontificate of Nicholas IV., was the Virgin's sacred house miraculously transported by angels (according to the legend) from Galilee to Dalmatia; whence "this heavenly gift," says the history, "was passed over into Italy very happily the year 1294." From the Exchequer Rolls we may glean a few notes of the payments made to religious houses in Perth, out of the King's fermes or rents in the burgh, between 1327 and 1358:—

In 1327, the Provost of Perth paid to certain religious houses, including the Blackfriars of Perth; the Prioress of St Leonard, near Perth; the Carmelite Friars; the Chapel of St Lawrence; and the Master of the Hospital of St Mary Magdalene, £78 15s 4d.

In 1328, the Blackfriars received £14 13s 4d; the Carmelites, 23s 4d; the Chapel of St Lawrence, 40s; the Master of St Mary Magdalene, 12s.

In 1329, the Prioress of St Leonard received 100s; the Blackfriars £29 6s 8d; the Carmelites 66s 8d; the Chapel of St Lawrence £4; the Master of St Mary Magdalene 12s.

In 1330, the above houses received the same sums. In the same year, these further sums were paid, viz.: the Prioress of St Leonard, 1s; the Blackfriars, £14 13s 4d; the Carmelites 33s 4d; the Master of St Mary Magdalene, 12s.

In 1331, the Prioress of St Leonard £5; the Blackfriars, £29 6s 8d; the Carmelites, 66s 8d; the Chapel of St Lawrence, £4; the Master of St Mary Magdalene, 12s.

In 1342, St Leonard's, 13s 4d; the Backfriars, 40s; the Carmelites, 6s 8d. Same year these further payments: St Leonard's, 20s; the Blackfriars, 40s; the Carmelites, 10s.

In 1343, the Blackfriars 40s and 16s. Same year the Carmelites, 6s 8d; the Blackfriars, £3 17s 4d,—and £3 6s 8d.

In 1358, the *Greyfriars* of Perth are entered as having received from Henry of Fotheringham, deputy of John of Danyelston, Sheriff of Perth, by order of the Justiciar, 40s.

The last entry shews that there were Greyfriars in the town at that date, though this order had no monastery till 1460, when it was founded by Lord Oliphant. We may add that all the houses of which the Dominican Order was possessed in Scotland, being fifteen in number had been established by the close of the reign of David II.,—the latest founded being the Chapel of St Monance, in Fife, by that monarch, in the fortieth year of his reign.

Robert, the steward of Scotland, whose first spouse, Elizabeth Mure of Rowallan, died before 1364, and was interred in the Church of the Dominican Monastery at Perth, succeeded to the throne, as Robert II., on King David's demise. Two or three grants to the Blackfriars were made in the new reign. On the 8th September, 1375, John Lorimer disposed to John Henderson, burgess of Edinburgh, his land on the west side of the Curfar Raw (Curfew Row), to be held of the Predicant Friars of Perth, under the burden of an annual payment to them of five shillings: the granter appending his seal, together with the seals of Adam de Brechin, reader of the order of Blackfriars of Perth, John of Cogherane, canon of Dunkeld, and John of Gray, burgess of Perth, before witnesses. On 25th March, 1382, Elizabeth de Kinmonth, in her widowhood, granted one boll of wheat and one boll of barley annually out of the lands of Kinmonth, to the Predicant Friars of Perth. On 18th September, 1389, Hugh Barclay of Kippo, a relative of those Barclays who acquired the lordship of Brechin, granted to the Predicant Friars of Perth ten shillings sterling annually out of his barony of Arngask, for the maintenance of a burning lamp in the choir of the Monastery Church.

Robert II. died on 19th April, 1390, and was succeeded by his son, John, Earl of Carrick, who ascended the throne as Robert III.—changing his baptismal name of John, which the Scottish people would have

deemed ominous for a King, after the evil which befel John Baliol. At this time, the kingdom stood in sore need of a ruler possessing strong energy of character and a firm hand to sway both the regal sceptre and the sword of justice. Lawlessness, disorder, rapine, and bloodshed prevailed over the land. Robert was by nature of simple tastes, pacific, indolent: a quiet good man in a private station; but in public affairs lamentably weak, and altogether unqualified to control a wild age. One of his brothers, the Earl of Fife (afterwards the Regent Albany), crafty, ambitious, and unscrupulous in his designs, engrossed the functions of government, which the feeble-minded monarch had felt as a weary burden. Another brother, the "Wolf of Badenoch," an impersonation of ruthless violence, was delegated to bear authority over the northern provinces of the kingdom, but he died in 1394. Whilst the Lowlands were kept in chronic turbulence by their nobles, the Highlands became a-blaze with the feud of two great clan-confederations. The power of the Crown was as a withered rush in the face of such anarchy. Even a bold and resolute ruler would have experienced immense difficulties in any endeavour to quell the Highlands by force of arms. The heather was on fire; and there seemed no means of checking and subduing the conflagration—no other resource but just to let it burn itself out, leaving utter desolation behind. A suggestion, in keeping with the temper of the times, eventually sprung up, and bore fruit. The usages of feudalism were in full vogue; and, acting upon them, the Earl of Moray and Sir James Lindsay proposed that the two clan-combinations should refer their feud to the issue of trial by wager of battle, by each selecting an equal number of their best warriors, who should march down to Perth, and combat to the death on the North Inch, in presence of the King and his Court, and that the result of the fight should be accepted as decisive of the whole quarrel. The Highland Chiefs eagerly embraced this proposition. They were proud of the opportunity of signaling their

prowess in the sight of such an audience: and so it was arranged that thirty picked men from each side should wage the battle at Perth. King Robert's gentle disposition revolted from so barbarous and bloody an arbitrament; but the clamant necessity of pacifying the north by any means being pressed upon him by all his counsellors, he reluctantly consented to become spectator and judge of the fray. It was now the year 1396. The gladiatorial-arena was staked out on the North Inch, and the King was to take his station on the balcony of a summer-house in the gardens of the Blackfriars Monastery, overlooking within easy distance the allotted scene of conflict. The summer-house was known as the Gilded or *Gilten Arbour*, from the ornate style in which it was decorated. Tradition has said "that the ornaments on the ceiling of the Monks' Tower (a circular watch-tower at the south-east angle of the town)," were "copied from those on the *Gilten Arbour*, by orders of the first Earl of Gowrie, at the corner of whose garden the Monks' Tower stood. This tower was taken down at the same time with Gowrie House," when the paintings were still to be seen: they were "allegorical and astronomical, representing the virtues and vices, the seasons, the zodiac, and other subjects commonplace enough." As to the King's presence at the strife, there was a precedent for it—Robert Bruce having presided at a combat on the North Inch, in April, 1312, which was fought betwixt two knights, William de Seintlowe, a Scot, and Hugh Harding, an Englishman, whose dispute concerned their respective coats-armorial.

Every reader is familiar with the story of the Battle of the Inch,—the genius of Sir Walter Scott having drawn a picture of the desperate struggle which will never be forgotten. Every reader knows likewise that in regard to what clans they were whose chosen champions contended, nothing has been conclusively settled. They are called the *Clan-Qwhewyl* and the *Clan-Yha* by Wyntoun; the *Clan-Quhele* and the *Clan-Kay* by Fordun's continuator; and the *Clan-Chattan* and the *Clan-*

Kay by Boece. But we have no wish to plunge into the intricacies of this question, nor though we had, are we able to throw any light upon it. We, therefore, leave it to the Celtic genealogists, and content ourselves with citing the original account of the fight given by Wyntoun in his *Cronykil of Scotland* :—

A thousand and three hunder year
 Ninety-and-six to mak all clear,
 Of three score wild Scots men
 Thirty again thirty then
 In felny bolnyt of auld fed,
 As their fore-elders were slain to dead.
 Tha three score were Clans twa,
 Clahynnhe Qwhewyl, and Clachinyha :
 Of thir twa kins were tha men,
 Thirty again thirty then.
 And there they had then chieftains twa :
 Sir Ferquhar's son was ane of tha,
 The other Cristy Johnesone.
 A selcouth thing by tha was done :
 At Sanctjohnestone beside the Freirs
 All thai entered in barreris,
 With bow and axe, knife and sword,
 To deal amang them their last werd,
 There they laid on that time sa fast;
 Wha had the waur there at the last,
 I will not say; but wha best had
 He was but doubt baith muth and mad.
 Fifty or ma were slain that day;
 Sa few with life then past away.

In this bald fashion the poetical Prior of Lochleven disposes of a conflict the most remarkable in all the history of Scotland,—leaving to our imagination to call up the furies of the day, the rushing together of the two lines with their pole-axes, and the deadly melee, swaying hither and thither, that knew no pause until the green meadow, gay with daisies and buttercups, was strewed with the dead and dying, and slippery with blood. Somewhat singularly, he refrains from telling what side had the victory. Other accounts state that the fight closed when only one warrior of the Clan Kay survived, against eleven of his antagonists. The King then commanded the strife to cease, and awarded the palm to the Clan Quhele. Wyntoun, it will further be noticed, makes no mention of the evasion of one of the Clan Quhele, and the voluntary substitution for

him of the *Gow Chrom*, or Smith, of St Johnstoun. The smith first appeared in the continuation of Fordun, and thence figured in the subsequent chronicles. The later version of the combat is thus given in Buchanan's *History*:—

A day was appointed for the combat, on which the chiefs, with the champions, having come to Court, part of a large field on the north side of the city of Perth, separated from the rest by deep ditches, was assigned them for the encounter, and seats constructed around for the spectators. An immense number of spectators having assembled, the battle was a little delayed, because one of the thirty of the one party had withdrawn through fear, and the lesser party were unwilling to engage with a greater, nor could they find a man to supply the place of the absentee; neither would any one of the opposite side allow himself to be removed from the number of the combatants, lest he should seem to appear less courageous than they. At last, a common tradesman offered himself as a substitute, on condition, that, if victorious, he should receive half a gold French crown, and afterwards be provided for as long as he lived, which offer being accepted, and the numbers thus again made equal, the battle commenced, and was fought with an eagerness, such as ancient hatred inflamed by recent injury, was calculated to produce in the minds of ferocious savages, accustomed to deeds of cruelty, especially when honour and advantage in addition, were proposed to the victors, and death and ignominy awaited the vanquished; yet was not the fury of the combatants greater than the horror of the spectators at witnessing the unsightly wounds, the torn limbs, and the fell rage of the infuriated barbarians. This, however, was observed by all, that no one behaved more bravely than the mercenary, to whose exertions a great part of the victory was ascribed. There remained in the battle, of the side to which he belonged, ten alive besides himself, but all severely wounded. Of the other party there remained one, but wholly unhurt, who, seeing himself exposed to such fearful odds, threw himself into the River Tay, which was near at hand, and escaped to the other bank, his adversaries, who followed, being retarded by their wounds. By this means, the fiercest of both parties being slain, and the multitude left without leaders, they desisted for many years from seditions, and returned to more peaceful pursuits. This combat took place, A.D. 1396.

The expense of the erection of the lists or barriers within which the clansmen fought was defrayed out of the King's customs of Perth. In the *Computum Custumariorum burgi de Perth* (the Account of the customars of the Burgh of Perth) from 26th April, 1396,

to 1st June, 1397, credit is taken for a sum of £14 2s 11d :—“*Et pro meremis, ferro et factura clausure sexaginta personarum pugnancium in Insula de Perth.*” Finally, although the battle was a rude and barbarous expedient in the interest of peace, yet it accomplished its purpose. The warfare in the north ceased; and the government of these provinces was committed to the King’s eldest son, David, afterwards created Duke of Rothsay.

The name of Rothsay recalls the foolish career and the miserable end of the Prince of Scotland who, by the machinations of his uncle, Albany, was done to death in Falkland dungeon. The weak and helpless King, fully suspecting by whose instigation his son had perished, resolved to secure the safety of his second boy, James, now the heir to the crown, by sending him to the Court of France. The young Prince embarked at the Bass, and set sail. But again the subtle and far-stretching schemes of Albany prevailed. The Prince’s bark was intercepted and captured off Flamborough Head, by the English, on the Palm Sunday (12th April) of 1405, in flagrant violation of the truce subsisting betwixt the two countries. As Wyntoun says :—

This ilk ship sone taken was
Even upon the Palm Sunday,
Before Pasch that falls ay.

On that day began the Prince’s captivity of nineteen years. This perfidious stroke was greater than the aged King Robert could bear. It destroyed his last hope. It crushed his overladen spirit. On first hearing the tidings his grief broke out in loud lamentations, which, however, speedily gave way to a profound melancholy, out of the dark shadow of which he never emerged. He cast aside all the cares of State, and spent his time in the solitude of his chamber. But in the midst of his sorrow and seclusion he remembered the Dominicans of Perth, who, perchance, had long been casting covetous eyes on the Chapel of St Lawrence, in the Castle Gable, so conveniently near to their own house. At his Castle

of Dundonald, on 3d December, 1405, King Robert granted a charter to the Predicant Friars of Perth, conveying to them the Chapel of St Lawrence, situated within the town of Perth, with all its rents and profits, for ever, for the salvation of the soul of his father, Robert II., and especially for the salvation of the soul of Elizabeth Mure, his mother, who was interred in the church of the said Friars. The deed goes on to state that the said chapel was the property of the King's beloved chaplain, John de Busby, "in virtue of our donation, for the term of his life"; but "the said John, not induced by force or fear, nor fallen into error, but of his own free will and voluntary choice, again rendered" the chapel "back into our hands, by staff and cudgel, and purely and simply resigned, quitting for ever and in all respects all right and claim which he had or could have to the said chapel : and the said religious men, and their successors, for the salvation of the souls of all the aforesaid persons, are to maintain the said chapel in its divine ornaments and buildings, and to perform in it the services and tasks due and customary." Of same date, the King directed a precept to the Bishop of Aberdeen, under the Privy Seal, ordaining him to cause due investiture to be given, "at the gates of our chapel, to the said religious," the Friars. A few months longer, and the unhappy monarch was borne to his tomb. He died at Dundonald, on 4th April, 1406. His captive boy, Prince James, was proclaimed King of Scotland; and Albany assumed supreme power as Regent.

Eighteen years of tyranny were now allotted for Scotland. Albany had thirteen years of the Regency, and passed from the scene on 3d September, 1419. His son, Duke Murdoch, stepped into the vacant office, without any legal sanction, and ruled in his stead. The son, like the father, used every influence to prolong the thralldom of his Royal master in England; and this treason succeeded until 1424, when the disgust of Regent Murdoch at the insufferable arrogance of his own sons actuated him to procure the release of

the captive King. During the Albany Regencies, we find three grants to the Black Friars. In 1410, William Scott of Balwearie granted to the Predicant Friars of Perth two acres of land in his meadow of Flawcraig, commonly called the Meadow of the said Friars, with this condition that the said Friars should not let in lease the said meadow without his permission, or the permission of his heirs, unless it be to his own proper tenants : and in July, 1460, the Friars, with due consent, gave an assedation of said meadow to John Scott of Fingask, and his heirs, for the payment yearly of one boll of white pease, well cleansed, at Lent. An Indenture was granted, about 1420, by Thomas de Lyn, burgess of Perth, of a croft of land at the Clayhills of Perth, near the Mill Lade, to the Friars, for the celebration of three masses in any week only before the altar of the Blessed Mary in their church. The witnesses were Michael Mercer of Meikleour, John of Chalmers, John of Seres, Richard of Strathearn, William of Strathearn, David of Ferne, Patrick Chartres, Andrew of Moncreiff, Cristin of Dunning, John of Logy, and William Umfra, burgesses of Perth. Of same date, Henry Pullour, burgess of Perth, acknowledging that the Prior of the Dominicans had advanced him money in his necessity, and had paid several of his debts, disposed to the Predicant Friars his croft of land, lying between the water-ditches of the said Friars, and otherwise bounded. Both this and the immediately preceding grant were confirmed by the feudal superior of the lands, David de Wemyss of Inchmartine, in 1421.*

* *Sixth Report on Historical MSS.*; Scott's *Statistical Account of the Town and Parish of Perth*, and Notes of Hospital Charters; *The History of Our Blessed Lady of Loreto*. London : 1608; *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vol. i.; Wyntoun's *Cronykil of Scotland*. Edited by David Laing. Vol. iii.; Notes to *Fair Maid of Perth*; Buchanan's *History of Scotland*, Book X.

THE DOMINICAN MONASTERY AT PERTH.
Part 3d.

There stood a temple and religious place,
And here a palace, but ah ! woeful case !
Where murdered was one of the bravest Kings,
For wisdom, learning, valour, and such things
As should a Prince adorn, _____
King James the First, of everlasting name,
Kill'd by that mischant traitor, Robert Graham.
Adamson's "Muses Threnodie."

AFTER a captivity of nineteen years, King James obtained his freedom, on a ransom of £40,000 sterling, to be paid in annual instalments,—noble hostages being left in England, and the four towns of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, granting an obligation, in security of the payment. The King had left Scotland in his boyhood : he came back at thirty, in the flower and vigour of manhood, and more accomplished, as we may well believe, than though he had passed the interval in his native kingdom. The English Henries, who successively held him in their keeping, had treated their prisoner generously, giving him an education fully befitting his exalted rank. He had the advantage of all the learned culture and polished training of the age; and his high mental faculties and poetic genius found a free sphere for development. Living in the midst of English modes and habits, he caught the prevailing tones of thought, and had every opportunity of studying the theory and form of civil government in England,—the administration of the laws,—the struggle between the Crown and the nobles,—and the incipient rise of that middle class which was yet to be an important estate in the realm. He became familiar with all that was worthy in the native literature of England, and drank deeply at Chaucer's "well of English undefiled." Chaucer and Gower were his favourite authors : and from admiration he advanced to emulation, and evinced himself a poet of no mean order. His captivity,

therefore, though wholly unjust as a gross infraction of international law, had done him no essential harm. When he returned, he was accompanied by a young bride, whose charms had first smitten his fancy when he beheld her from his casement in Windsor Castle, seeming, as he said,

The fairest or the freshest young flower
That ever I saw, methought, before that hour.

The bride was the Lady Johanna or Jane Beaufort, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, and grand-daughter of "old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster," the grand-uncle of Henry V. The pair were wedded at Southwark, on 2d February, 1423-24, and soon after the nuptials, they set out for Scotland, which they entered on 1st April, 1424. They were crowned at Scone on 21st May; and on the 26th of the same month, James held his first Parliament in Perth, during the sitting of which his residence, doubtless, was the Dominican Monastery. When he first passed in state within its portal, who could have foreseen that that reverend pile was to be the scene of his assassination?

At the actual assumption of power by King James, it was clearly manifested that he designed great things for the peace, good government, and general welfare of his people. He had scarce concluded his journey home when he was made acquainted with the turbulence and lawlessness which prevailed throughout the kingdom, and which the Albanies had never earnestly sought to put down: whereupon he lifted up his right hand, and vowed that if he lived he would mend matters. "Let God but grant me life!" he exclaimed, with fervour, "and there shall not be a spot in my dominions where the key shall not keep the castle, and the furze-bush the cow, though I myself should lead the life of a dog to accomplish it!" Such was the spirit which inflexibly actuated his future career. Never for a moment deviated he from what appeared to be the path of sovereign duty. A stern sense of justice was ever present to his mind. Even offenders of his own blood were not spared. On them fell his heaviest strokes of retribu-

tion. The second Regent Albany and his family were speedily called to account : and probably it was a matter of regret to James that the grave had saved his uncle, the first Regent, from vengeance. Albany and two of his sons, with the Duke of Lennox, were executed at Stirling, and their estates confiscated. The people soon came to understand that the new Sovereign was bent on vindicating the supremacy of right over wrong. Parliament enacted many salutary statutes : the administration of the laws was purged of all corruptions and abuses : violence and rapine were repressed with severity : and sometimes terrible examples were made of notorious criminals;—a single instance of which will suffice. A savage Highland robber having pillaged a defenceless widow, she threatened that she would travel to the King's presence, and seek redress. The barbarian swore that she should not go unshod, and ordered horse-shoes to be nailed to her feet. The poor, maimed woman was brought before the King, who forthwith ordered the author of the atrocity to be sought for and apprehended. The outlaw was seized, and dragged to Perth, where sentence was pronounced by the King, who caused him to be shod with iron, "and so in a halter to be led about the town," after which he and twelve of his gang were hung. All unruly subjects, of whatever grades, felt that the hand of a master was over them, swift to punish. A new system of national taxation was instituted. Commerce was encouraged, and the cultivation of the land improved. The King, well knowing the superiority of the English in archery, endeavoured to train his subjects in the use of the bow. The crown lands and rents had been considerably alienated under the Albanies; but the King took steps for the revocation of all such grants. Everything was to be rectified; and a new era of peace, prosperity, and happiness seemed opening for Scotland.

King James was a frequent visitor to Perth. Ten out of his thirteen Parliaments sat in that ancient city, which was still regarded as the national capital : and at such seasons he must have been the guest of the

Dominican Friars, whose monastery, as already said, supplied the place of the old Castle as a royal residence. To James, moreover, is due the foundation of a great monastic house at Perth. The Carthusian Order, which had no establishment in Scotland, apparently engaged his favour while he was in England : it was a fraternity professing the most ascetic rules and the utmost devotion to the cause of religion : and in 1426, — two years after his return, — he applied to the Prior of the Great Chartreux, near Grenoble, in Dauphiny, for permission to found a Carthusian Monastery near Perth. The Prior replied in a letter, dated 19th August, 1426, which gave authority “to erect and construct one House of our Order within your kingdom, near to the burgh of Perth, for the accommodation of thirteen monks and their competent number of servants, who shall there serve God perpetually, for the remeid of the soul of your Serene Majesty, of the soul of the renowned Lady your Consort, and of the souls of your heirs, predecessors, and successors;” and which House the King should endow with 200 merks, “attentive that the Place itself shall with all due proportion sufficiently correspond to the arrangement of our Order, as have been related to us by our venerable brother the Prior of the Mount of Grace (in Yorkshire), and by Dean Bryce, professed of the same House, who, at our command, carefully surveyed the Place with their own eyes.” King James accordingly founded a *Carthusian Monastery*, in 1429, on the west side of the town, immediately beyond the South Street Port. It was a large and stately fabric, and the only House of the Order which was ever raised on Scottish soil : its designation being *Domus Vallis Virtutis Ordinis Carthusiensis, prope burgum de Perth* (the House of the Valley of Virtue of the Carthusian Order, near the burgh of Perth.) At least one more ecclesiastical edifice was erected at Perth during the same reign, namely, the *Chapel of St Paul.*, which was founded, on 25th December, 1434, by John Spens of Glendewglie. It stood at the north-west corner of the

Newrow, and had an hospital adjoining for the entertainment of strangers and indigent and infirm persons.

In course of dealing with the royal lands and rights, the King resolved on re-annexing to the Crown the Earldom of Strathearn, which had been formerly conferred on David, the eldest of the two sons of Robert II. by his second spouse, Euphemia Ross, —the other son being Walter, Earl of Athole and Caithness. David's only child was a daughter, who at his death became his sole heiress. She married Sir Patrick Graham of Kincardine, who, in right of his wife, assumed the Strathearn estates and title. Sir Patrick was succeeded by his son Malise, in whose time the Earldom was reclaimed by King James upon the plea that its descent had been limited to heirs-male, in default of whom (David having left only a daughter) it reverted to the Crown. Young Malise Graham was consequently dispossessed ; but in lieu of the loss, the King created a new Earldom of Menteith, and bestowed it on him, and, farther, to save appearances, granted Walter, Earl of Athole (who was still surviving in old age), the Earldom of Strathearn in liferent. This arrangement seemed to satisfy the parties immediately concerned ; but there was one man to whom it gave mortal offence—Sir Robert Graham, brother of the late Sir Patrick, and uncle of Malise. He was a man of daring courage, unbridled passions, wild life, and desperate resources, but withal well versed in civil and canon law. He was opposed to the whole tenor of the royal policy, which, unfortunately, in this particular trenched upon his family interests. Full of indignation, he remonstrated with the King against it, but in vain. Others there were of his own class to whom the new regime was hateful, because it compelled respect for the law ; and he and they consorted together, expatiating on their fancied wrongs,—he vertfully inflaming their minds by suspicions of what the King might yet grasp at. Should not something effectual be done to curb the royal power ? A cabal was thus formed, and Graham assured his confederates

that, if they stood faithfully by him, he should, in the next Parliament, denounce, to the King's face, the grievances occasioned by his system of government, and strive to bring about a change. The Parliament sat at Perth, on 10th January, 1434-35, when Graham, true to this promise, and confident of success, laid before the Sovereign and Estates the wrongs of which so many of the barons complained. Warming with his subject, and firmly relying on the support of his friends, he plunged into treason, proclaiming that he aimed at the personal restraint and disgrace of the King. He advanced to the throne and laid his hand on the Monarch's shoulder. "I arrest you," he cried, "in the name of the three Estates of your realm, here now assembled in this present Parliament; for, as your liege people are bound and sworn to obey your Majesty's noble rule, so in the same wise are you sworn and ensured to govern by the laws, that you may do your people no wrong, but in all right maintain and defend them." Then, turning round to his party, he demanded, with a triumphant smile—"Is it not thus as I say?" But, to his astonishment and dismay, it was not so. His associates, perchance overawed by the "divinity that doth hedge a king," remained mute: no man stirred, no man spoke. The King rose, and commanded Graham to be arrested. The traitor was at once seized, and hurried to prison. In a short time, however, James unwisely gave him release, but banished him from Court, and confiscated his estates.

A banished man,—stripped of his possessions,—panting for vengeance, Graham fled to the fastnesses of the Highlands, and buried himself among the rocks and glens. His disappointment and disgrace had taught him how that

Diseases, desperate grown,
By desperate appliances are relieved,
Or not at all:

and the most desperate of all appliances suggested themselves to his mind. Murder was his purpose, and he made an open boast of it. He sent a letter to the

King, renouncing allegiance, defying him as a tyrant, and avowing that he would watch the earliest opportunity of embruining his hands in his blood. James answered the threat by issuing a proclamation offering a reward for the audacious traitor's head. Graham next sought to engage one or two personages of note in his guilty project. He practised upon the old Earl of Athole and his grandson, Sir Robert Stewart, both of whom were implicitly trusted by the King. The villain skilfully excited Athole's ambition by recalling the controversy regarding Robert II.'s first marriage with Elizabeth Mure of Rowallan. If that marriage was illegal, as many held, then King James was an usurper, and the Crown of Scotland ought of right to be set on the head of Athole, as the surviving son of Euphemia Ross. And had the Earl forgotten how a Highland seer once came to him, and predicted that he should be crowned before he died? Athole's dotage was thus ensnared in a plot to assassinate the King, exclude his offspring, and change the succession. Sir Robert Stewart, the Earl's grandson, and Chamberlain to the King, by whom he was highly favoured, joined in the conspiracy. Some other associates, of meaner rank, were also brought over,—chiefly Sir James Hall and his brother, who had been dependants of Albany, and Christopher Chambers and his brother, Thomas, members of the Royal Household. Besides, Graham quietly gathered together a band of 300 Highlanders, who, allured by bribes and lavish promises, were ready to do his bidding in the perpetration of any enormity.

It was now the year 1436; and whilst the traitors were working in the dark, the King took the field at the head of his army. The English had broken the truce with Scotland, and James promptly laid siege to the Castle of Roxburgh, which was still in their hands. The attack having been plied for fifteen days, the garrison were ready to surrender, when Queen Jane suddenly arrived in the Scottish camp, and held a secret consultation with her consort. What her errand imported was never divulged; but the King presently

raised the siege, broke up his forces, and returned with all haste to Edinburgh. It has been supposed that the Queen brought obscure tidings of some conspiracy which had reached her ears, but without information implicating anybody within reach. The King called together a Parliament at Edinburgh, on 22nd October, 1436; but nothing of an alarming nature, nothing concerning a plot, was communicated to the Estates. A few measures were enacted, and the Parliament adjourned. When Christmas approached, the King resolved to spend the festive season at Perth in the Monastery of the Dominicans,—evidently still ignorant of Graham's designs: for at Perth, his residence would be peculiarly exposed to sudden assault: and possibly the sinister advice of some of the conspirators in his train induced him to take a step which in the end proved so calamitous.

In sooth, national calamities were prefigured, according to the superstitious notions of the age, by strange signs in heaven and portents on earth. The sun was eclipsed for three hours, during which there was such a darkness that the time was long remembered as the *Black hours*. "A fearful comet, like to a fiery sword," writes Sir James Balfour, "hung, as seemed, over Edinburgh and Perth." An older chronicle avers that, besides the comet, "a sword was seen gliding up and down in the air, to the no less dread than wonder of the people:" that in the winter "the frost was so vehement that ale and wine were sold by pound weight, and then melted against the fire:" and that among the monstrous things which happened was one at Perth, where a swine's litter had the heads of dogs! But none of these portents were so interpreted by the King as to induce him to abandon his progress to Perth; nor was he deterred, when on his route, by a direct personal warning, which should have made him pause. He and his train had come down to the shore of Leith, and were about to embark to cross the Firth of Forth, when a Highland woman, reputedly gifted with the second sight, rushed in through the circle of attendants, and,

presenting herself before James, exclaimed :—"My Lord King, if you cross that water, you shall never return again alive!" This oracular utterance startled the monarch, and brought to his mind a popular prophecy that in that same year a King should be slain in Scotland. The sibyl was retiring, when James sent one of his knights after her to enquire what she had really said, and by whom she had been instructed so to speak. The messenger questioned her as desired. She answered in the same manner as before, and also stated that one Hubert told her so; but who Hubert was she did not say. The knight went back to the King, and repeated her words. "But, sire," added he, "no man would take heed of that woman's speech; for she is nought but a drunken fool, and wots not what she says." The King's curiosity seemed satisfied, and so he passed over the Scottish sea, and on through Fife to Perth. The seeress, however, though stigmatised as a drunken fool, is thought to have had some knowledge of Graham's conspiracy; and perhaps the Hubert whom she named was a royal domestic secretly connected with the plot.

The King and Queen, with their retinue of lords and knights and ladies, reached Perth, and took quarters in the Monastery of the Dominicans. Christmas was observed with high festivity. The whole season was spent in banqueting, pastime, and pageantry. Never before had ancient St Johnstoun been graced by so gay a Court, so brilliant a galaxy of lovely ladies. Strove-tide drew on, and the conspirators were maturing their plans. Athole and Stewart were daily with the King, masking their treachery under the sweetest smiles and the most subservient loyalty. The Halls and others were fulfilling their several offices about the royal person, as trusty servants. Graham was drawing down his Highland horde from the Grampians. At last the time of action was fixed,—the night between the 20th and 21st of February, 1436-37. The chief conspirators held a secret meeting near Perth, under cloud of night, when Athole addressed the conclave in a formal harangue,

setting forth his claim to the throne, and urging his supporters to go about their parts bravely and with all expedition. He is said to have spoken to this effect:—

The right and title of the Crown, by descent of blood from Robert II., my father, was in the person of David, my brother, and is justly claimed now by me and my grandson. As for an Act of Parliament confirming the right of that other race, and for oaths of allegiance, no parliamentary authority can take away Justice and the Law of God: neither is an oath to be observed whenas it tendeth to the suppression of truth and right; and though for a time such acts and oaths have prevailed, our designs having good success, we shall have a Parliament approving our right, and abolishing the pretensions of this usurper. It was simplicity in him to think that by small benefits all old injuries should be forgotten, and that I should take patiently the title of an Earl when I should have been King myself. By his tyranny, he is become terrible to his people, who obey him only through necessity and fear. But the heavens seem to conspire with us, having brought him to disband his army, and come to the wished place of our attempt. Great enterprises must begin with danger, but they end with rewards. Therefore, be resolute in the plot: put it in speedy execution; for haste is the true spirit of such actions; and let us not waste the time of execution in idle deliberation.

Truly, the enterprise in hand did not seem attended with much danger. Perth was a walled city with ports and gates, and the burghers were loyal to the King, and would have flown to arms in his defence on the slightest alarm; but the Blackfriars Monastery was beyond the walls, without any defence save an aqueduct which ran around its grounds; and there was no royal guard: most of the King's retinue lodged in the town of Perth: and only a few servants remained nightly with him in the Monastery, some of them traitors. Still, when the crisis was nigh, circumstances transpired which might have roused the King's suspicions and induced him to provide for his own safety. One morning, while he was in his chamber with several courtiers, a certain squire ventured to address him thus:—"My Lord King, verily last night I dreamed that Sir Robert Graham sought to slay you." Most likely the squire, if not in the plot, had heard of it, and now sought to awaken James to a sense of peril. But one of the nobles chid the speaker for telling such a tale. The

King said nothing, though recollection flashed on him that the same night he had been dreaming that "a cruel serpent and a horrible toad assailed him furiously in his chamber, and how he was sore affrighted and afraid of them, and that he had nothing wherewith he might succour and defend himself, but only a pair of tongs that stood in the chimney." No impression, however, was made on his mind; for he evidently discredited any floating rumours about Graham and his designs, and even jested on the subject of danger, as was shown in one remarkable instance. There was a handsome young knight of the Court, whom the King often played with at chess, and had jocularly dubbed "King of Love." One day, whilst they were in the midst of a game, "Sir King of Love," said the Monarch gaily, "it is not long ago since I read a prophecy that this year there should a King be slain in this land. Now, you wot well, Sir Alexander, that there be no other kings in this realm but you and I: and, therefore, I counsel you that you beware; for I shall ordain sufficiently for my own sure keeping." Would that he had done so!—but he was living defenceless. Christopher Chambers, too, one of the conspirators, repenting of his treason, would fain have confessed all. Thrice entered he, with that intent, into the royal presence; but each time some trivial incident prevented his disclosure, and the King was left in ignorance. And now came the 20th of February. The Court kept festival during the day, and the revels were prolonged well into the night. No word of alarm had been spoken. All the traitors were at their posts, ready for the fated hour and its bloody work. Near the town, Sir Robert Graham and his Highland band hovered in the darkness. Athole and his grandson deluded the King to the last, joining with him in the mirth and frivolities of his fool's paradise. By Sir Robert Stewart's directions, all the bolts and bars were removed from the doors of the royal apartments, and all the locks rendered useless; and, to give Graham's banditti easy access to the gardens of the Dominicans, planks were laid

across the lade to serve as a bridge. Nobody detected these preparations. The Friars of the Monastery saw nothing: the citizens of the town were void of suspicion.*

* Tytler's *History of Scotland*, and *Lives of Scottish Worthies*; Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Sootland*, vol. i., pp. 159, 164; Hollinshed's *Scottish Chronicle*, vol. ii., pp. 73-77; *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. ii. (Lamentable Chronicle of the Death and False Murder of James Stewart, King of Scots); Drummond of Hawthornden's *History of the Jameses*, p. 44.

THE DOMINICAN MONASTERY AT PERTH.

Part 4th.

Ring the alarm-bell. Murder ! and treason !
Banquo, and Donalbain ! Malcolm ! awake !
Shake off this downy sleep, Death's counterfeit,
And look on death itself !

* * * * *

Our royal master's murder'd.

Macbeth.

ON Wednesday, the 20th February, "the Curfew" had tolled "the knell of parting day" over old St Johnstoun, warning the burghers to their homes, and hushing the bustle of the streets. The night waxed late ; but in the royal chambers of the Dominican Monastery, not yet had "the clock struck the hour for retiring." Supper was past, and the King and Queen, with their nobles, knights, and fair dames, were still keeping courtly revel. Walter of Athole and his grandson, eager to seize the Scottish crown through slaughter, and watching the development of their traitorous plot, were both in the gay circle, with Judas-like dissimulation, hovering about their intended victim, lest peradventure some mischance should break the toils which they had so skilfully spread around him. The assembly, says the contemporary English writer who recounts the catastrophe, "were occupied at the playing of the chess, at the tables, in reading of romances, in singing and piping, in harping, and in other honest solaces, of great pleasance and disport." With what seared consciences, and hearts hard as the nether millstone, must the conspirators have gazed upon the festive scene, knowing that speedily, at their signal, the minions of murder would be let loose to spill the blood of their anointed Sovereign ? Late as was the hour, a slight stir arose at the Monastery gate. A solitary woman, poorly-dressed and strange-looking, stood there, demanding to see the King. The drowsy porter could not stay her. She

passed him by, and on across the empty inner court, and up the flight of steps that led to the royal lodging. She went straight to the door, and knocked. The music—the harps and the singing—drowned her call; but she was importunate, and at length an usher appeared, doubtless flushed with potations. Staring astonished at the mysterious woman, whose habit denoted that her rank was of the humblest, he demanded what she wanted. “Let me in to the King,” she said; “for I have somewhat to speak in his ear; and I am that same woman, who, not long ago, desired to speak with him on Leith shore, when he was about to cross the Scottish Sea.” Perhaps the man had witnessed the incident she mentioned, or at least had heard of it. He did not drive her away, but went and told his royal master, who was engrossed in play. “Yea?” said the King, unwillingly pausing in his game. “Sayeth she so? Let her come to-morrow, and we will hear her.” The usher returned with the answer, hearing which the woman seemed exceedingly mortified. “Well, well,” said she, with a sigh, “be it so; but you shall all repent it that you will not let me speak even now with the King.” The servant laughed, and called her a fool for her pains, and bade her begone. Shaking her head mournfully, she went her way, and slowly quitted the precincts of the Monastery, and was seen no more. It was the last warning utterly rejected and thrown away! “And thus,” remarks the chronicler, “as it is said by the wise old fathers, many years ere we were born, whatever thing is destined for a person, be it late, be it soon, at the last ever it cometh.”

Time sped, midnight tolled from the tower of St John, and the royal party began to separate. Such as had their lodgings in the city, retired thither, dreading no evil. Sir Robert Stewart, rooted in his treason, was among the last of the courtiers that left the royal presence: and then he hastened to smooth the way for the admission of Graham and his myrmidons, who were waiting without in the fields, impatient as hungry

wolves. By Stewart's directions, planks were laid over the moat or branch of the lade to serve as a bridge for the miscreant band to get access into the grounds of the Monastery. The King and Queen and the attendant ladies still lingered in the chamber, standing in an easy group before the hearth, which, on that cold February morning, cast forth a grateful glow. But as they loitered, talking and jesting, some unwonted sounds were heard in the air. The King listened, and soon distinguished plainly the clash and clatter of arms and armour, and the hurrying tread of many footsteps, and the murmur of many voices; and then a bickering fiery glare, shooting upwards through the casements, played to and fro like lightning on the roof. He flew to a window, and, to his consternation, beheld the yard below filled with armed Highlanders, moving confusedly, whose figures were visible by the smoky blaze of several torches carried amongst them! On the instant the betrayed monarch bethought him of Sir Robert Graham,—the dreams and words of warning despised,—and exclaimed, as he turned round, that his life was sought by his worst enemy. The ladies, inexpressibly startled, hastened to the windows, but one glance sufficed: and then they ran with one accord to the chamber-door to make it fast; but, picture their dismay, to discover that the bolt was gone, and the lock rendered useless! The hoarse cries of the marauders left no room to doubt that the foulest treason was on foot. "Keep the door as well as you may," said the King, "and I will make shift for myself:" and he essayed to escape by one or other of the windows; but they were all barred with square stanchions of iron firmly set with lead in the stones, so that, though he grasped and shook at them with all his force, they would not stir in their sockets. For a moment he looked around, seeking for an outlet, where there appeared none, and, as a thought struck him, he sprang to the chimney, and, seizing the heavy iron tongs, brushed aside from a part of the floor the thick layer of rushes that covered it in lieu of a carpet, applied the tongs to one of the

planks, which he tore up, and revealed a small darksome vault beneath. Immediately he descended into the cavity, calling to the ladies to replace the board and the rushes upon it, and the tongs by the fireside, to avert suspicion, all which they did. James now fancied that his safety was assured; for he knew there was an outer aperture or window in the vault, through which he could have crept; but most unluckily, only three days before, he had ordered it to be built up with stone, because when he played at tennis in the court the ball often ran into the hole. The order had been obeyed more promptly than he imagined: the orifice was closed, and he was entrapped in a *cul-de-sac* of his own making.

In a few minutes the conspirators were in full possession of the Monastery. With drawn swords brandished over their heads, the Friars in their dormitory were overawed from raising the slightest alarm. The bell of the house could have aroused the town; but there was nobody to ring it. Conducted by Sir Robert Stewart, a body of the assassins rushed towards the royal chamber. As they entered the gallery leading thither, a page, Walter Straiton by name, was passing along with a cup of wine for the King and Queen, and, seeing the influx of wild Highlanders, he called out "Treason! treason!" But he was immediately stabbed to the heart, and fell to the ground, where his life's-blood mingled with the spilled wine. The band reached the King's apartment. The ladies had the door shut, and by their united efforts endeavoured to hold it fast. One of them, Lady Catherine Douglas, animated by the bold and intrepid spirit of her race, thrust her arm, in place of the bolt, into the staple: but what could woman's strength avail? The ruffians assailed the door with levers and axes, and it was driven open, and the slender white arm of the fair Douglas was snapped in twain! In pressed the band with furious threats, and several of the females were wounded in the confusion. The Queen, overcome with affright, stood incapable of speech or motion: "and as she stood there so astonished,

as a creature that had lost her kindly reason," a savage struck at her, and would have slain her on the spot, had not the son of Sir Robert Graham interposed, exclaiming—"Hold! What is it you do to the Queen? For shame of yourself! She is but a woman. Let us seek the King." The royal lady fled through the crowd, not knowing whither she went; and her attendants huddled themselves into the corners of the room, with moanings of pain, doleful shrieks, and lamentations. The King, however, was invisible: "and there the traitors sought the King in all the chamber about, in the withdrawing chamber, in the litters, under the presses, the formes, the chairs, and all other places: but long they busily sought the King," and found him not. Nowhere was there trace of him: and nobody remembered of the vault. They retired to ransack the other portions of the building, doubly enraged at the prospect of being balked of their prey. The King, in his place of concealment, heard the noise and vengeful voices overhead, and the retreat of the baffled ruffians. After waiting a little, and hearing no renewal of the sounds, he called to the ladies above, desiring that they should lower sheets into the vault, whereby he might be drawn up. The broken piece of flooring was accordingly removed, and the agitated dames were proceeding to let down sheets, when Catherine Douglas, who, despite her injured arm, was lending what assistance she could, lost her footing, and fell into the vault beside the King. This accident of itself would not have revealed the King's hiding-place; but the assassins were now heard returning to make a more rigorous search.

They had overrun the whole Monastery, and were still at fault; but one of the leaders, Thomas Chambers, the disloyal varlet, suddenly remembered the small recess in the lodging. "Sirs," he cried, "why stand we here, and lose our time, without effecting our purpose? Follow me, and I shall show you where our enemy lies hid." And he led back the band with their torches to the royal apartment, where the ladies had again timeously replaced the plank. Chambers

went forward, and, scraping aside the rushes with his foot, perceived the fact that one of the boards had been lifted. He pressed it up, and snatching a torch, looked down into the vault, where he saw the King and the lady. The room rang with a fierce shout of delight. "Sirs! the bride is found for whom we have searched and carolled all night." Thereupon another traitor, Sir John Hall, the minion of Albany, with a dagger in his hand, leaped down into the cavity. The King was destitute of any weapon; but he was sinewy and stout, and roused to desperation for his life. He caught the villain by the throat, with a grip like that of an iron vice, and, dashing him to the earth, trod him under foot,—striving, too, to dispossess him of his steel; but ere this could be effected, the other Hall followed to assist his brother, and was in like manner clutched and thrown backwards. So terrible was the King's grasp that for a month afterwards, the livid marks of his fingers were visible around the two villains' necks. He struggled to keep them down, and to wrench the daggers from them: half-choked as they were, they kept their hold of the hilts with the tenacity of death, and he only mangled his own fingers. "But," says the old writer, "if the King had been in any wise armed, he might well have escaped their malice by the length of his fighting with those two false traitors. For if the King might any while longer have saved himself, his servants and much other people of the town by some fortune should have had some knowledge thereof, and so have come to his succour. But, alas! the while, it would not be! Fortune was to him adverse, as in preserving of his life any longer." The arch-traitor, Sir Robert Graham, viewed the unequal contest from above, and seeing how his comrades fared, and that the King was well nigh exhausted with his efforts, descended into the vault with his dagger drawn. The unfortunate James, bleeding at both hands, lacked the strength to grapple with him, and besought mercy. "Thou cruel tyrant!" responded Graham, "thou hadst never mercy upon lords born of thine own blood,

nor upon other worthy gentlemen that came into thy power." One other plea the King urged:—"I beseech thee, for the salvation of my soul, let me have a confessor:" and a priest was not far to seek; but the assassin sternly refused the request. "None other confessor shalt thou have but this good steel" he cried: and with these words he stabbed the King through the body, who fell down and faltered forth that if his life were spared, he would give Sir Robert half his kingdom "and other good gifts." The murderer was moved by the offer, and by the piteous spectacle of his prostrate Sovereign, and hesitated for a moment, lowering the point of his weapon. Upon this, his associates angrily declared that, if he shrank from dealing the finishing stroke, they would sacrifice his own life. The threat had its effect. Graham and the two Halls again attacked the King, and despatched him with repeated blows.

The barbarous deed done, the three assassins ascended out of the recess: and now the cry was raised for more blood. The Queen should be slain! because if she lived she would avenge the murder. The miscreants ran about to take her; but happily, by this time, she had escaped from the Monastery. Moreover, the alarm had reached the town and awakened every sleeper. The citizens poured into the streets, and hurried towards the scene of tumult. "And anon all the King's servants that were lodged" in the town, "and all the other people of the same town, with one will and one assent, as the King's true men and his liege subjects, came with force and arms, with many a torch and other lights, and approached the King's court. And when the traitors heard the noise and rumour of those commons, they with all haste possible fled." In their flight they were withstood by Sir David Dunbar, brother of the Earl of March, who cut down one of the ruffians and wounded another; but in the struggle he received a stroke on the head and lost three of his fingers; and one of the royal grooms was killed. The band escaped, with Athole, Stewart, Graham, and the lesser leaders.

They directed their flight to the Highlands; but bitterly they deplored having spared the Queen. "Alas!" said they among themselves, "why slew we not the Queen also? For had we so done, we should have been free of all trouble, which now hangs upon our heads. It is she whom we have most to dread: for she will pursue and never cease till she wreak her bitterest vengeance upon us."

Afflicting was the sight that awaited the loyal burghers in the royal lodging. Of the ladies of the Court,—some were swooning from the injuries they had sustained, others seemed in distraction through the excess of grief and terror: and the dead body of the Sovereign lay in the vault, bearing sixteen ghastly wounds! And thus had perished one of the best, "one of the worthiest of all the Kings of Scotland till his time," writes Drummond of Hawthornden. Of most of the former kings "it might have been said, the nation made them Kings, but this King made that people a nation." With great natural abilities, with true principles of administration,—a love of justice, an ardent desire for the welfare and advancement of his subjects,—he fell upon peculiarly evil times. During his long captivity, the Albany Regencies had brought enormous miseries upon the country by the selfish laxity of law and government; and the social condition of the people was retrograding towards barbarism. James, having studied the English system of policy, applied himself, on his return, to reforms which were clamantly needful. He made the law powerful and respected: he punished guilt in every station. "By him," says Hawthornden, "abuses were reformed, defects repaired, sedition and discord was put from the nobles, equity and industry restored to the country, every man had a certainty of enjoying his own and security. Into all men was either infused a will to do well, or a necessity of so doing imposed upon them, virtuous actions being honoured, crimes punished." If he was frequently severe, he was necessarily so. He made enemies of those who throve on fraud, violence, and oppression. But how few were

the conspirators that plotted his death ! A dotard Earl and his grandson, a desperate baron, and some worthless varlets—these were the chief actors : and the most ordinary precautions could have foiled their design. Moreover, James displayed other qualities that adorned his royal station. He had a poetical gift scarcely inferior in some respects to that of his favourite master, Chaucer. In his English sojourn he acquired many accomplishments. He could play on various instruments : he introduced the organ in Scottish cathedrals : he composed music both secular and sacred. The learned Italian, Alessandro Tassoni, has recorded the opinion, that “ we may reckon among us moderns James, King of Scotland, who not only composed many sacred pieces of vocal music, but also, of himself, invented a new kind of music, plaintive and melancholy, different from all other.” As regards the King’s poetical productions, some are believed to be lost. Those which have survived the ravages of time are *The King’s Quair*, *Peebles to the Play*, *Christ’s Kirk on the Green*, and one or two short pieces. To all students of Scottish poetry the three poems named are well-known, and we need not farther allude to them ; but, of the others, we may quote the following effusion, which we doubt not will be new to many readers :—

DIVINE TRUST.

Since through virtue increases dignity,
 And virtue is flower and root of nobles ay,
 Of ony wit, or what estate thou be,
 His steps follow, and dread for none effray:
 Eject vice, and follow truth alway;
 Love maist thy God, that first thy love began,
 And for ilk inch He will thee quit ane span.

Be not ower proud in thy prosperity,
 For as it comes, so will it pass away;
 The time to count is short, thou may well see,
 For of green grass soon comes wallowed hay.
 Labour in truth, whilk sooth is of thy fay;
 Trust maist in God, for He best guide thee can,
 And for ilk inch He will thee quit ane span.

Since word is thrall, and thought is only free,
 Thou daunt thy tongue, that power has, and may
 Thou steek thy e’en fra world’s vanity,
 Refrain thy lust, and hearken what I say:

Graip or thou slide, and keep furth the highway,
 Thou hald thee fast upon thy God and man,
 And for ilk inch He will thee quit ane span.

The poet-King died in the 43d year of his age. His body was interred in "a magnificent monument erected by himself, while he lived," says Sir James Balfour, within the Church of the Carthusian Monastery of Perth, which he had founded; and an interesting relict of him was preserved there till the time of the Reformation. It was his doublet pierced with the dagger-stabs: as mentioned in Adamson's *Muses Threnodie* :—

And in this place, where he doth buried lie,
 Was kept the relict wherein he did die,
 His doublet as a monumt reserv'd,
 And when this place was raz'd it was preserv'd,
 Which afterwards I did see for my part,
 With holes through which he stabbed was to the heart.

He left a son, James, who succeeded him on the throne, and five daughters, four of whom married foreign potentates, and the other wedded the Earl of Angus and afterwards the Earl of Morton.

A short month had not passed over after the King's assassination, when the leaders of the conspiracy were taken and expiated their crimes on the scaffold. Sir Robert Graham and several of his associates thought to conceal themselves in Athole; but their crime had evoked detestation in every quarter of the kingdom; and every tongue was loud in the call for vengeance. They were hunted up and down like wild beasts, and in the end were captured by two of the Athole chieftains, John Gorm Stewart of Garth, and Robert Reoch Duncanson of Strowan, head of the Clan Donnachie, or Robertsons. An old Gaelic poem of the period, said to have been composed by Gilchrist Taylor, seems to refer to the arrest of the traitors, whom it denounces as "a pack of cruel hounds," "horrid brutes," &c., while it praises "Robert's son of clustering locks," and "John Stewart of the bounding steeds." The villains were all executed—Athole, Stewart, Graham, and the rest—with circumstances of unexampled and revolting barbarity: and Athole in fulfillment of the Highland seer's prophecy, was crowned in mockery with a paper

(some say an iron) crown, inscribed *The King of all Traitors*. But their sufferings were unpitied : and the feelings of the common people were expressed in the rhyme—

Sir Robert Graham,
Who slew our King,
God gave him shame !

The Chiefs of Garth and Strowan were remembered for their good service in laying hands on Graham and his minions. The Chamberlain's Accounts for the year 1438 contain a payment to John Stewart Gorm of £56 13s 4d, for his part in the arrest. It was later until Strowan got his reward. At Edinburgh, on 15th August, 1451, James II. granted a Charter of Confirmation to Robert Duncanson of the lands and barony of Strowan, for his zeal in the capture of Robert de Graham. Part of the armorial bearings of Clan Donnachie—namely, a savage man in chains lying beneath the escutcheon—is conjectured to have been conferred in commemoration of the same service.

The assassination of James I. proved detrimental, in its ulterior consequences, to the interests and dignity of the city of Perth. A gradual diminution of its status as the capital took place after that lamentable event, as its proximity to the Highlands undoubtedly favoured sudden attacks on the royal residence. One or two Parliaments were held in Perth by James II.; but towards the end of the reign of James III., Edinburgh was formally constituted as the capital of Scotland. This was in the year 1482. Yet, strange to say, a century subsequently, Sir James Melvil of Halhill writes that he had advised James I. "to go himself to the Isles to build a fort there, and to remain two years till all things were ordered ; shewing his Majesty that the Kings of Scotland were never rich, since they left the Highlands to dwell in the Lowlands; but have ever since diminished their rents, and increased their superfluous expenses in diet and clothing, following the customs of other nations ; which his Majesty, after enquiry, found to be most true ; and his

Majesty was resolved to follow the said advice, and I had promised to go with him ; but all was altered.” *

* *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. ii. (Lamentable Chronicle of the Death and False Murder of James Stewart, King of Scots; written about 1440 by John Shirley, an Englishman, and first printed in the appendix to Pinkerton's *History of Scotland*); Tytler's *History of Scotland*, and *Lives of Scottish Worthies*; Hawthornden's *History of the Jameses*; Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*; Woodhouselee's edition of the *Works of James the First*; Dr Rogers' edition of the *Poetical Remains of King James the First*; *The Dean of Lismore's Book*, pp. 93, 151; *Memoirs of Sir James Melvil*, p. 350.

THE DOMINICAN MONASTERY AT PERTH.

Part 5th.

The Friar has walk'd out, and where'er he has gone,
The land and its fatness is mark'd for his own;
He can roam where he lists, he can stop where he tires,
For every man's house is the Barefooted Friar's.

Ivanhoe.

PREVIOUSLY the Dominican Monastery at Perth had been associated with one notable event—the Clan-battle on the North Inch; but the assassination of King James gave it a notoriety far surpassing that of any other religious house in the realm : and we may reasonably fancy that for years the scene of the great crime would be visited by many people from all quarters of the country, supplying a new source of income to the Friars. The importance of the Monastery, however, as an occasional residence of Royalty, declined with the decline of Perth as the national capital; and its subsequent history until the time of the Reformation is unmarked by any other memorable episode in the annals of Scotland; so that what chiefly remains for us to record is the gradual accumulation of benefactions bestowed on the Friars.

William de Hay of Errol was created Earl of Errol, by James II., in 1452. That same year, obviously on account of, and by way of thank-offering for, his elevation to the rank of nobility, the new-made Earl gave a charter to the Dominicans of Perth,—first, confirming the grant of 20s annually out of the lands of Inchyra, by his ancestor, Sir Gilbert de Hay in 1324; and, secondly, granting the Friars £4 yearly out of said lands, for the salvation of his own soul, that of Beatrice (Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Dalkeith), his Countess, and the souls of their parents, predecessors, and successors : declaring if he (the granter) or his heirs should at any future time question and withhold the said sum of £4, or any part thereof, he or they

should be bound to pay £200 Scots money to the Friars, within forty days, and even before the case was adjudicated upon by the competent Court; while, on the other hand, if the Friars neglected to perform the religious services stipulated in the charter, they should forfeit the right to both grants. The charter thus proceeds :—

The said Prior and Convent, and their successors for the time being, shall cause and ordain a well-qualified Friar of the said place, whom they shall choose or depute for that purpose, to celebrate one mass every day for ever, between the hours of ten and twelve, at the altar of St John the Evangelist and Nicolas the Confessor, in their foresaid Church, where some of our predecessors are buried and are resting, for our souls, and the souls of all faithful men deceased; and the said Friars employed to celebrate this mass shall be bound to exhort the people at the beginning of the said mass that, for the souls of all the foresaid persons, and for our own soul, and the soul of our said consort, they shall say one *Paternoster*, with the angelic salutation of *Ave Maria*, by no means omitting that called *Fidelium Deus*. Moreover, the said Prior and Convent, and their successors, shall be bound to celebrate an anniversary yearly after our decease, when it shall happen. And if it shall come to pass, which God forbid, that the said Prior and Convent, or their successors in their foresaid Church, shall, for whatever cause, desert from the foresaid service during the space of one whole month, or, contrary to their duty, shall not fulfil the same service in whole or in part, unless it be because of mortality, a great famine prevailing in the country at the time, or the conflagration of the foresaid town or Convent, so that they shall not be able for these causes to sustain themselves conventually in their foresaid church, then we will, and by the tenor of this present charter ordain, and this with the present consent of the said Friars, that our heirs and successors, by their own proper authority, without leave asked of any person in this life, shall take and uplift the foresaid £5 of annual-rent, and shall allocate, unite, and assign the said annual-rent to a qualified monk or chaplain to celebrate divine service at an altar in the Monastery of Cupar, in the Church of Errol, or anywhere else as it shall please them; the said annual-rent never afterwards to be levied or any way possessed by the said Prior, Convent, or their successors, or by any other in their name.

On 14th July, 1459, Edmund Hay, Laird of Leys, granted to the Friars one boll of wheat annually, out of his lands of Leys, which boll was to be delivered, for their sustenance, before the Feast of the Nativity, or at such other time as they should choose to appoint.

Various of the charters after this date relate to unimportant grants to the Monastery, which we need not particularize : other documents are connected with the feuing out, by the Friars, of portions of their property : and we shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a selection of such grants and matters as appear likely to prove of most interest to the reader.

The reign of James II. ended on 3d August, 1460, when he was killed by the bursting of a cannon at the siege of Roxburgh Castle. In this year, Laurence, first Lord Oliphant, founded the *Franciscan or Grayfriars Monastery* at Perth. The city could now boast of four great monasteries, and consequently of

Eremites and friars,
White, black, and gray, with all their trumpery.

On the 4th February, 1463-64, the Predicant Friars received a charter from Laurence Dryden, burgess of Perth, of £5 of annualrent out of his tenement in the Kirkgate, and that for the salvation of the souls of "James the First and James the Second, Kings of Scotland, of worthy memory; and for the safety of the most excellent Prince our Sovereign Lord, James the Third, the most illustrious King of Scots; for the salvation of my father and mother; for the salvation of my own soul, and of the souls of my predecessors and successors." This loyal burgess left an equally loyal-hearted daughter who dutifully followed the paternal example. On 9th November, 1469, Agnes Dryden, daughter of the deceased Laurence Dryden, burgess of Perth, granted to the Predicant Friars 8s of annualrent out of a tenement on the west side of the Castle Gave-Street (or Skinnergate, as appears from the description), and also 2s of annual rent out of another tenement adjoining, and she likewise granted a garden or orchard, lying on the north side of the King's way passing to the North Inch, and that "for the maintenance of one mass to be daily and annually celebrated by one of the Friars of the said convent for the souls of James the First and James the Second, the most illustrious Kings of Scots, of excellent memory; for the soul of the most

illustrious Prince James the Third, our present supreme King; for the souls of the said Laurence, of his father and mother, and of all the faithful dead." Is it an oversight that Agnes, in her excess of loyalty, stipulates for no mass to be said for the repose of her own soul? She appears to have made the grant immediately prior to her marriage; for we find a confirmation of it by Stephen Jaffray, her husband, on 22d January, 1469-70.

Elizabeth Sandilands, widow of James Fotheringham of Fordel, resigned to the Black Friars, on 5th September, 1491, a house and gardens at Perth for the performance of weekly masses for the soul of her deceased husband, and for herself during her life, and also an anniversary mass with singing and *Placebo* and *Dirige*, on the day of her husband's death; for which services she likewise granted the Friars 10s yearly.

Angus Robertson, burgess of Perth, granted, on 24th January, 1495-96, to the Predicant Friars, a tenement and garden near the Castle Gavel, on conditions which broadly indicated a ludicrously-eager desire for self-glorification: and probably the cunning Friars had played upon his vanity to obtain the benefaction. He provided that "the said Prior and his Convent, and their successors, shall annually on the anniversary day of my decease, and on the night preceding, cause divine service and obsequies to be performed, with *Placebo* and *Dirige*, and on the morrow a mass *de Requie*, for my soul, the soul of my wife, the souls of all my predecessors and successors, and the souls of all the faithful dead: also the bellman of the town of Perth shall be forewarned by the said Prior and Convent annually to admonish and invite all persons to resort to the Church of the Monastery, and to the obsequies there to be performed on the anniversary-day of my decease." Doubtless the donor's last moments were cheered by the thought that year by year, in all time coming, the town's people would be publicly warned by clang of bell to go and hear "Angus Robertson's mass!"

John Eviot of Balhousie, on 15th May, 1505, granted to the Black Friars 33s 4d of annual rent out of his croft called the Barn's Croft, adjoining the North Inch and the Gilten Arbour, and that for the celebration in the choir of their church at the high altar, of a mass, with memorial of the most glorious Mary. If the granter's heirs refused to continue the donation, they should pay to the Friars £40 Scots; and if the Friars neglected the mass for four Sundays successively, they should forfeit the said annual rent.

A feu-right which was granted by the friars in 1517 was burdened with peculiar conditions of occupancy. On the 20th August that year, the Prior and Convent, with consent of John Adamson, Provincial Prior of the Dominican Order in Scotland, granted to Andrew Ferrier, skinner and burgess of Perth, and his lawful children, a house, garden, and orchard possessed in liferent by Elizabeth Buttergask, and also a tenement and garden held by Andrew Robertson from the convent, and that for the annual payment of 10s by the said Andrew Ferrier. But he was to lose all right under the grant if he sublet or leased the gardens or orchard for building to any master of a school for teaching, or to any one who retained a number of boys, or to any persons publicly exhibiting shows: and if he himself and his heirs did not remove persons of this kind at the very next term, or after having been required so to do by the Prior and Convent, or their successors. The object of the Friars in making these curious restrictions was evidently to prevent any use of the grounds which would cause noise and disturbance in the neighbourhood of the Monastery.

In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the principles of the Reformation, then struggling to supremacy in Germany, were slowly but surely making way in this country. To check the spread of opinions so opposed to sacerdotalism, some of the more thoughtful of the Romish Churchmen endeavoured to remove the open and flagrant abuses which prevailed in the monastic orders; but such attempts, although well-

meaning enough, failed to reach the festered root of the evil, and therefore came to no effectual result. A movement for reformation of life and manners was begun amongst the Dominican fraternity in Scotland by John Adamson, Provincial Prior of the Order, — a learned man, who had been honoured with the degree of Doctor of Theology by the Marischal College of Aberdeen. Prior John, having fully studied the institutes of his Order, sought to bring back the friars to the original simplicity, poverty, and abstemiousness inculcated by the founder, St Dominic, that so, as in the olden days, the ardent zeal and the holy walk and conversation of the brethren might stem and roll back the rising tide of heresy. The effort was successful so far that it attracted to the Predicants a good deal of public favour for the short time it lasted. It lasted only a short time, and the friars relapsed into their former habits. This half-reformation is specially alluded to in an important and curious charter granted to the Dominicans of Perth. Alexander, third Earl of Huntly, died on 16th January, 1523-24, and was buried in the choir of the Blackfriars Church at Perth. He was survived by his second Countess, Elizabeth Gray, daughter of Andrew third Lord Gray, and widow of John, Lord Glamis. This lady, on 24th June, 1525, made a grant to the Dominicans of Perth of her half-lands of Littleton, in the barony of Longforgan, for the repose of the soul of her late husband, the Earl of Huntly, and of her own soul. These half-lands of Littleton had probably been given to her, by her father, as a marriage portion, on the occasion of her first union with the Lord of Glamis, and were held by her thenceforth in her own right. In the opening of her charter of 1525, she refers with high approval to the reformation which had been introduced in the Dominican Order throughout Scotland :—

To all who shall see or hear this Charter, Elizabeth Gray, Countess of Huntly, wishes salvation in Him, who is the common Saviour. From the beginning of the world, the Father Almighty, the universal Creator, three yet always one, ordained and hath rendered holy, by his

laws both of the Old and New Testaments, the nuptial band between the man and the woman, and which he hath strengthened also by the knot of mutual friendship and special love, so that the one party does not use to be forgetful of the other, whether they be present companions, or one of them has passed from this mortal life : I, therefore, being now mindful of my most beloved husband, Alexander, late Earl of Huntly, Lord of Badenoch, who conferred many benefits upon me, and being also devoutly striving for the salvation of his and of my soul, have determined to procure the assured suffrages of pious prayers, and to found, and by God's grace perpetually to establish, in some religious places, sacred obsequies for the augmentation of the divine service : And because among the several societies, in this kingdom of Scotland, who receive in common any property, such as lands and annual-rents, the Predicant Friars are poor, promoters of religion, conforming to the Institutes of their spiritual fathers, reformed, abstaining, agreeably to their own Constitutions and those of their Fathers, from all kinds of flesh, so that in life and doctrine they are an excellent pattern to the people, I have chosen that they chiefly shall perform the foresaid prayers and divine obsequies.

She then grants the half-lands of Littleton with their pertinents, lying within the Sherifffdom of Perth, upon certain conditions :—

The said Friars, or their successors, to render to me and my heirs, for satisfaction of my lord superior of the said lands, two pennies of the current money of Scotland, on the ground of the said lands, in the name of maill. Also the said Friars and their successors shall be bound and obliged, as in law and equity they may, to chant and celebrate solemnly, with a memorial, in their dark-blue vestments (*cum nota in vestimentis cœruleis*), with deacon, sub-deacon, and accolytes (servants), in their choir, between the hours of seven and nine daily, a Mass of Repose for the comfortable rest of my soul, and of the soul of the late Alexander, my husband, except on solemn days and principal festivals, which, according to the Ordinary or Calendar of the said Friars, are double, on which days a Mass shall be celebrated for us out of the Festival, with a collect, and memoriam for our souls. Also, every year, on the day of the decease of my said husband, namely, the 16th of January, they shall celebrate for our souls funeral exequies, or an anniversary, with nine lessons, with due solemnity. But if the said Friars or their successors shall cease to celebrate the said Mass and exequies above written, they shall be bound to resign and renounce into the hands of the Lord Superior for the time the said lands of Littleton, at my requisition if I be alive, or after my death at the requisition of the heirs of the late Earl, my husband, or if they be negligent in the matter, at the requisition of

John Crichton of Strathurd, Knight, and his heirs, in favour of any other religious house willing to accept the said burden, which house likewise failing, in favour of any other honest church accepting the burden, at the choice and nomination of the Archbishop of St Andrews and of the Bishop of Dunkeld who shall be at the time, with my consent, or with the consent of the heirs of my said husband, or of the said John Crichton: and with this matter I charge their consciences. Moreover, the said Friars and their successors, or other ecclesiastical men whatever, accepting the said lands with the burdens, shall be bound in this matter, now, and as often as there shall be occasion, to submit themselves wholly to the jurisdiction and government of the said Archbishop of St Andrews and Bishop of Dunkeld, as by the tenor of this bipartite Charter they now submit themselves, by renouncing their own proper jurisdictions, exemptions, and privileges whatever, granted or which may be granted to them, so that the said Archbishop and Bishop, or their Vicar-General, Officials, or Commissaries may compel the said Friars, or others whatsoever accepting the foresaid burden, to a due observance of the premises in all points and articles above-written, by using ecclesiastical censures, and, if need be, by citation, admonition, excommunication, aggravation, re-aggravation, and interdiction. And farther, because I the said Elizabeth, Countess foresaid, contributed and delivered, for repairing and edifying the Dormitory (the Sleeping Chamber) of the said Convent, when it was wholly ruinous, the sum of 300 merks, money of Scotland, the said Friars and their successors shall be bound to say every night after Complines and Matins (the midnight and earliest morning devotions) the psalm *De Profundis* ("Out of the depths") with the prayer *Inclina* ("Incline thine ear"), at the sepulchre of the said Alexander, Earl of Huntly, my husband, who lies buried in the choir of the said Friars, reciting our names, ALEXANDER and ELIZABETH, and that for the weal of our souls. Every week also, in their chapterly meetings, they shall commend our souls in their suffrages, special and general, as well of their masses as of their other prayers; and in this present year, all and sundry the Friars, priests of the said Convent, shall remember and make special mention of my state [the Countess being apparently in ill health at this time], and of the soul of the said Alexander, my late husband. That all the premises may have perpetual effect, if it should happen that the said Archbishop, Bishop, the heirs of the late Earl, my husband, and the heirs of John Crichton, shall, after I have yielded to the fates, allow the said suffrages and divine services to pass into neglect and oblivion, in that case I constitute and ordain the Prior and Religious Men of the Carthusian Monastery near Perth, overseers of this foundation as far as they may: and it shall be lawful for them, in the foresaid case, to require not only the foresaid Friars, and the heirs of the said late Earl, and of John Crichton, but also the said

Archbishop and Bishop, their successors, officials, and commissaries, to fulfil, execute, and observe all the premises, and on finding them remiss to execute the premises themselves for the security of the celebration of the said mass, exequies, and other suffrages, and for that purpose to solicit the authority, and cause to be executed the processes, of the Sovereign Pontiff. At Perth, before these witnesses, a venerable man and father in Christ, Alexander, Commendator of Scone and Inchaffray, and an honourable man, Patrick Charteris, Provost of Perth.

On the same day, sasine was given to the friars in virtue of the Precept of the Countess addressed to Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, Master David Lindsay, his son, and Andrew Hervey, her Bailies. The residence of the Countess was in the town of Perth, in that great mansion which was subsequently acquired by the Ruthven family, and known as Gowrie House. She seems to have died in about two years after the date of the charter. The Dominicans had much difficulty in obtaining possession of the half-lands of Littleton, conveyed to them. The Countess' son by her first marriage, John, Lord Glamis, was opposed to the alienation, and endeavoured to keep the friars out of their rights. Proceedings were taken before the Privy Council and other courts : the Lords Gray became involved in the matter ; and, in fact, it was not till the year 1550 that all disputes concerning the lands were set at rest and the Friars had peaceful possession.

In June, 1523, the *Chapel of St Catherine*, with an hospital adjoining, was founded at the Claypotts by Sir Jehn Tyrie, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Methven. This was the last of the chapels built at Perth previous to the Reformation. Records shew that there were altogether four monasteries, two nunneries, and eight chapels established about Perth. But the two nunneries, namely, those of St Mary Magdalene and St Leonard, were suppressed after the erection of the Carthusian Monastery, to which their lands and revenues were annexed; and the Chapel of St Lawrence, after passing by royal grant into the hands of the Dominicans, was allowed to fall into complete decay. The *ultimate* number of religious houses about Perth was, therefore, four monasteries and seven chapels.

We have spoken of the *Giltan Arbour*, from the balcony of which King Robert III. witnessed the Battle of the Clans. It pertained to the Dominican Monastery. But in process of time, the Town Council of Perth pretended right to the Arbour and its adjuncts, and ended by taking actual possession. Indeed, this was not the only instance in which the civic rulers endeavoured to despoil the Black Friars of a portion of their property. The Arbour itself had perhaps gone to ruin, and its adjoining grounds had become waste, when the Council fancied that the open space might be used for the recreation of the citizens in archery and otherwise. The friars protested against this high-handed appropriation, and, the Town being too strong for them, they petitioned the King to vindicate their rights. James V., on 19th July, 1535, directed a letter to the Sheriff of Perthshire, William, Lord Ruthven, enjoining him to do justice to the friars, in respect that the Town Council had taken illegal possession of "certain crofts and pieces of land" beside the monastery, "the property of the said friars, in times bygone, past memory of man:" had thrown down a portion of the enclosures: had set up bow-butts, or marks for archery, "on a part of their crofts and lands called the Gilded Herbar:" and had "spulzied them of their possession thereof, and will not desist therefrom, nor refund to them the damage and skaith they have sustained through down-casting of their dykes, without they be compelled." On the 18th of August following, the King re-called this letter, and, with mutual consent of parties, appointed Patrick Ogilvy, Laird of Inchmartine, and Edmund Hay, Bailie of Errol, to decide the matter. Inchmartine and Hay, however, were so very dilatory in their duty, that the King, acting doubtless on an application by the friars, sent them a reminder on 3d July, 1536. Still, there was more delay; and the last we hear of the question is an order by the King, dated 10th May, 1538, to summon witnesses in the case.

Another of the feu-rights granted by the Friars is

curious on account of the object for which it was stated to be given. In 1475, the half of a tenement without the bridge of the Castle Gavel, was granted to John Frew, for payment of 30s annually. The feu was renewed, in 1537, upon the same terms, to a descendant of his, probably a grand-daughter, Christian Frew and the heirs of her body, to "help the said Christian to her marriage portion."*

* Charters and copies of Charters belonging to the Blackfriars Monastery, in King James the Sixth's Hospital of Perth; Rev. Mr Scott's MSS.; &c.

THE DOMINICAN MONASTERY AT PERTH.

Part 6th.

The hour was come, and then our Knox did sound,
“ Pull down their idols, throw them to the ground ! ”
The multitude, even as a speat, did rush then,
In powder beat, and call'd them all *Nehushtan*.
Our Blackfriars church and place, Whitefriars and Grey,
Profan'd and cast to ground were in one day.

The Muses Threnodie.

NOT content with their illegal appropriation of the Gilten Arbour, the Town Council of Perth, with persistent rapacity, next laid hands upon another portion of the property belonging to the Black Friars,—namely, the Chapel of St Lawrence. As already seen, this chapel, which was situated in the Castle Gable, on ground long known as “ Chapel-hill,” probably about the site of the Castle of Perth, had been gifted by Robert III., on 3d December, 1405, to the Dominicans, because that his mother, Elizabeth Mure, lay buried in their church; and this donation was granted on condition that they should perform the specified services for the dead, and maintain the chapel in all its sacred ornaments and buildings. From seeming oversight, the Friars were not taken bound to keep a chaplain there: and the King having died in April, 1406, they thenceforth neglected the chapel as a place of worship, allowed it to fall to decay, and ultimately leased it as a dwelling-house or dwelling-houses, and also leased the pertaining grounds of Chapel-hill, as appears by charters dating between 1477 and 1502. Still, the fabric went to ruin, and in 1543 its site was described as “ waste land.” Before the latter year, however, the Town Council had seized upon the whole property, perhaps considering that the Friars had forfeited all right and title to it by their neglect and suppression of the chapel. By the Council's orders, all the ruins and rubbish of the old buildings were cleared away, and the vacant space was turned to some profitable purpose. The Friars now

appealed to the highest authority, and on 2nd May, 1543, the Regent Arran sent a letter to the Town Council, setting forth that "whereas the waste land whereon the Chapel of St Lawrence sometime was builded, lying in the Castle Gavel of the burgh of Perth, pertained to the Prior and Convent of the Predicant Friars of the said burgh as patrimony of their place, they [the Council] had, notwithstanding, intromitted with and occupied the said lands for several years bypast, by which means the Friars received no benefit from it, and particularly had lost yearly the feu-duty of 10s, which Andrew Robertson and his wife, before the town's illegal intromission, had promised to pay;" and the Council were therefore charged "immediately to indemnify the Friars for the losses they had sustained, and to suffer them peaceably to dispose of the ground in any manner they pleased for their own advantage." This mandate did not produce the desired result. The Council, evidently considering that possession was nine points of the law, refused to quit their hold: and in all likelihood this contention, combined with that about the Gilten Arbour, exciting a very bad feeling between the Friars and the municipality, was the cause of an outrageous attack which was made by a mob of the citizens upon the monastery, a few days after receipt of Arran's letter.

The affair happened on Monday morning, the 14th May, between eight and nine o'clock, when the Friars were at their devotions. A number of the inhabitants, gathering together of set purpose, forced their way into the monastery, driving open barred doors and throwing down everything before them. Having broken into the kitchen, they found the great kettle, doubtless well filled with meat, simmering over the fire. Resolved on a practical joke, they took off the vessel, and carried it away with them, and paraded it about the streets of the town, so that everybody might see for themselves how daintily the Friars fared, despite their loud professions of poverty and abstinence from flesh. A few more articles were purloined, and, with the kettle and

its savoury contents, were retained by the rioters. Smarting under the violence and insult, the Friars made known their wrongs to the proper quarter, and on the 28th May, "letters" (or a summons) were raised, of the following tenor, against the ringleaders of their despoilers:—

Mary, by the grace of God, Queen of Scots, &c. Forasmikle as it is humbly meant and complained to us by our devout Orators, the Prior and Convent of the Friars Predicators of Perth, upon Alexander Chalmers of Potty, John Henry, George Crichton, Walter Pyper, John Davidson, James Rynd, John Mason, whilk with their complices and servants, of their causing, command, and ratihabition, recently, upon the 14th day of May instant, betwixt eight and nine hours before noon, our said Orators being actually occupied in Divine service, came to their said place, and struck up their fore yett, broke the locks and bands of the same, and siclike broke up two inner doors of the throughgang on the north side of the said cloister, and took away with them the locks of the same doors, and broke up the frater door, and took away out of it chandeliers and glasses, and broke their kitchen door, and took off the firs the kettle with their meat, and carried it about the town, and yet withhold the kettle and pewter dishes, one or more, from them, and also broke their closure yett, which was new made, with great violence and contempt, to their great damage and skaith, and against justice if so be. Our will is herefore, and we charge you, that ye lawfully summon, warn, and charge Alexander Chalmers of Potty, John Henry, George Crichton, Walter Pyper, John Davidson, James Rynd, John Mason, with their complices, to compear before Us and our Council at Edinburgh, or wherever it shall happen to be at the time, the — day of — next to come, in the hour of cause, with continuation of days, to answer at the instance of our said Orators, the Friar and Convent of the Friars Predicators of our said burgh of Perth.

The summons likewise contained an estimate of the damage and loss sustained by the friars, viz.:—Each lock which was broken, valued at 8s ; two brazen chandeliers, 20s ; two glasses, 3s ; the great kettle, £3; two pewter dishes, 6s (all Scots money) ; besides the broken doors. As to how this case proceeded, there is no record. But in reference to St Lawrence's Chapel, the Town Council were still withholding it when, on 10th September, 1543, the friars instructed their law-agents who were to plead on their side in the litigation concerning the Gilten Arbour, that they should state

to the Court that "the said Provincial, Prior, and Convent acclaim from the said community the ground violently occupied by them, whereupon ane Chapel of St Lawrence stood beside the said burgh, and pertaining to the said Prior and Convent, and their predecessors, past memory of man, together with materials, stones, and timber, spoiled by the said community, extending to the value of ———," Scots money. So far as appears, the Dominicans never recovered any part of the lands of the Gilten Arbour or of St Lawrence's Chapel.

Sixteen years after the absurd riot of the kettle, a terrible tempest burst upon all the monastic houses of the Fair City. On the memorable Thursday, 11th May, 1559, when Knox's fervid eloquence had opened the eyes and stirred the hearts of the people, the monastery of the Greyfriars felt the first fury of the storm. The Blackfriars next shared the like fate; but, as the Reformer admits, not such "store of victuals" was found there as in the other, although, indeed, "there was more than became men professing poverty." All the monasteries were sacked, and the very buildings themselves were torn down and razed to the ground with inconceivable rapidity.

A deplorable destruction of the records and other muniments kept in the religious houses throughout Scotland occurred during the tumults of the Reformation. Archbishop Spottiswoode tells that, in many instances, "the Registers of the Church and bibliothèques were cast into the fire." Amid the general ravage in Perth, the Chartulary of the Dominican Monastery, a good number of the Charters, and the last Account Book were fortunately saved, and are still preserved in King James the Sixth's Hospital. The Account Book of the Friars extends from 20th June, 1557, to 6th May, 1559, being within a week of the outbreak which followed Knox's sermon. It is attested by David Cameron, the last Sub-Prior; and shews that from Whitsunday to Martinmas, 1557, the sum of £63 15s 6d Scots was received; from Martinmas,

1557, to Whitsunday, 1558, the sum of £79 14s 10d; from Whitsunday to Martinmas, 1558, the sum of £76 17s 6d; and from Martinmas, 1558, to Easter Sunday, 1559, £52 1s 11d—altogether, £274 9s 9d Scots, or £22 14s 2d sterling, during the last two years of the monastery's existence. But other records of importance must have perished. "The Blackfriars or Dominicans of Perth, *Domus fratrum prædicatorum de Perth*," says Father Iunes, "was famous for being the ordinary place of meeting of all our national councils, which by an order, settled above five hundred years ago, were to be yearly kept by all the bishops and clergy of the kingdom; and whereof we have on record an account of many such councils held. . . . But except the copy of the canons preserved in a chartulary of Aberdeen, I could never as yet hear of the acts or canons of any of them before the year 1549. The reason is plain; these acts and canons, besides the authentic copies deposited in St Andrews and other churches, were of course kept in the archives of this convent of the Dominicans of Perth, to be represented at each council; now this convent and church suffered the same calamity as that of St Andrews, or rather a greater, with no less expedition and suddenness."

The Rev. Mr Scott, of Perth, drew up, from the documents belonging to the Dominicans, lists (necessarily incomplete) of the priors and sub-priors of the Monastery, and also of some of the friars, at different periods. These we shall now insert, with the addition of the names of John de Sancto Germano, the Dominican prior of Perth, and Arnold, a friar of the same Monastery, who on 29th March, 1286 (a fortnight after the death of Alexander III.), were sent as envoys by the Scottish Guardians to the Court of England, apparently on the subject of the succession to the Scottish throne—an incident casually overlooked in a previous part of our sketch.

The prior of the Dominicans was always elected by the suffrages of the convent, and held office during pleasure,—the list shewing that one of the priors was

elected twice, and two others subsequently filled the secondary office of sub-prior.

PRIORS.

- 1286. John de Sancto Germano.
- 1455. John de Musselburgh.
- 1465-1475. Robert Shacklock.
- 1486. Thomas Donyng.
- 1491. David Boyd.
- 1497-1508. Robert Park.
- 1517. Robert Lite.
- 1520. James Young.
- 1523-1526. Vincentius Litster.
- 1532-1534. John Macalpin.
- 1537-1543. Patrick Pillans.
- 1542-1547. Robert Borthwick.
- 1550 1559. Patrick Pillans.

SUB-PRIORS.

- 1523. James Hewat.
- 1528. John Litster.
- 1541-1542. Vincentius Litster.
- 1545. Robert Lite.
- 1549 1559. David Cameron.

FRIARS.

- 1286. Arnold.
- 1517, August 20. Alexander Muat, Alexander Mureson, David Burnet, Andrew Ratray, Robert Aikman, Patrick Simson, Mauritius Millar, James Colt, Andrew Jackson.
- 1543, December 29. Vincentius Litster, Thomas Robertson, Alexander Galloway, David Cameron.
- 1546 47, January 22. Alexander Small, Thomas Steill, John Branwood, David Cameron, James Dod.
- 1549, April 23. Thomas Steill, Mauritius Allan, Thomas Liston, William Simson, John Meik, Michael Neill.

Two seals of the monastery are extant. The brass matrix of the oldest one is in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. It bears a rudely-executed design of the Virgin and Child within a niche, and in the lower part a monk praying; and the inscription is—*"S'Officll. Poti Ord. Pdicarii de Pth."* The other seal is appended to a deed of 1519 among the St Andrews charters. It bears, under a Gothic canopy, two full-length figures of St John, with the paschal lamb, and St James (?) with a sword in his right hand, and a branch of tree or a club in his left; both nimbed. The inscription is—*"S'Ordinis Predicatoris Prioris de Perth."*

It boots not to tell how the lands and revenues of the

overthrown Romish establishment in Scotland were reft by the heads of the Reformed party, whose greed left only the barest subsistence, out of the Church funds, for the Protestant ministers who undertook the pastorate of the kingdom. But the Reformation had been only a year or two accomplished when the Scottish Government endeavoured to make part of the ecclesiastical revenues available for education, charitable purposes, &c. The Privy Council, on 15th February, 1561-62, "statute and ordained that all annuals, mails, and duties within free burghs or other towns of this realm, as well pertaining to chaplainries, prebendaries, as to friars, together with the rents of the friars' lands wherever they be, setting and disposing thereupon, be intromitted with and taken up by such as her Grace shall depute thereto; for employing of the same by her Highness to hospitalities, schools, and other godly uses as shall seem best by her Highness, by the advice of her Council : and knowing that nothing is more commodious for the said hospitality nor the places of friars, as yet undemolished, as also to the entertaining of schools, colleges, and other uses foresaid, ordains the Provost and Bailies of Aberdeen, Elgin in Moray, Inverness, Glasgow, and other burghs of this realm where the same are not demolished, to entertain and uphold the said friars' places standing in the said towns, upon the common good thereof, and to use the same to the common weal and service of the said towns, aye and till the Queen's Majesty be further advised and take final order in such things." Acting in this laudable spirit, the Regent Moray, in name of James VI., granted a charter, at St Andrews, on 9th August, 1569, for founding an Hospital in Perth out of the lands and rents of the religious houses there. Another charter was granted by King James, at Edinburgh, on 29th July, 1587, in confirmation thereof; and both charters were confirmed by Act of Parliament. Great difficulty was experienced, however, by the Hospital Managers—the ministers and elders of Perth—in obtaining possession of the whole lands and revenues so conveyed. As regards the Blackfriars lands, these

had been seized by the Laird of Balhousie, and it was not till 1591 that he was compelled to relinquish what he unlawfully held. In the Hospital archives are the following documents :--

Our Sovereign Lord's Letters, at the instance of the Hospital of Perth, for ejecting of the Laird of Balhousie from the Manor place, orchards, lands, yards, lying beside the burgh of Perth, whilk pertained of before to the Blackfriars, dated 22d January, 1588; with an Precept of Removing of the Laird of Balhousie fra the said lands, and sundry other Letters and Decrets of Suspension thereanent.

Discharge and Renunciation by Colin Eviot, of Balhousie, to the Hospital of Perth, of the Manor place, orchards, lands, goods, lying beside the burgh of Perth, whilk pertained of before to the Blackfriars, dated 21st October, 1591.

And it is further stated in the hospital books that "the Blackfriars quit itself out of Balhousie's hands; for certain years' tacks were set to umquhil David Jackson, maltman, for the sum of one thousand merks money in hand, whilk was given to the said Balhousie for his good-will thereof."

When David Jackson became connected with the Blackfriars, the burying-ground of the monastery lay open to be grazed by cattle, employed as a playground by the youth of the town, or turned to more ignoble uses. To prevent all desecration of this ancient "God's Acre," the Kirk-Session (who were the Hospital Managers) passed a resolution, on 9th June, 1589, to the following effect:—"The Minister and Elders being convened, ordains David Jackson to have grass of the Blackfriars Kirkyard, and he shall for the same build a good dyke about the same for haining and keeping thereof: and seeing it is a place of burial, whilk should be honourably entertained, ordains that the dyke be well biggit, to be an stop that beasts have no entrance therein, nor no beasts, neither of his own nor no others, come therein under pain of escheating them; except only he may shear the grass of the same: and this (dyke) to be bigged May next fourscore ten years."

But the Hospital Managers had to fight a far more arduous battle, in regard to the Blackfriars, than that

with the Laird of Balhousie. The Town Council of Perth, who seem to have deliberately set themselves, from generation to generation, to plunder the Church property, contrived to get wormed into possession of part of the lands and rents of the Blackfriars and the Charterhouse, by procuring the Magistrates to be declared members of the Kirk Session. Law was resorted to by the Hospital Managers ; but for a long time without much effect. At a Visitation of the Church of Perth, on 3rd August, 1676, under Archbishop Sharp, the matter was thus referred to :—

Most of them [the elders] declared that there was a very considerable part of the Hospital rent, called Blackfriars and Charterhouse, amounting to 100 bolls bear, which had been these many years bygone, and was yet still at present, possessed by the Magistrates and Town Council, and uplifted yearly by their Treasurer: and how they had intended Process, and what the issue of it was, they referred the Visitors to their Session Book, which they said would give an full account of the affair.

Last of all, an account of the Session Book was called for from Mr Thomas Fowler and Mr David Lauder, that had been appointed to visit the same; who reported it to be very formal and correct.

And as for the business of the Blackfriars and Charterhouse, they declared they find in the year of God 1669, Archibald Chrystie and John Drummond being Masters of the Hospital, there is a Process commenced by them, according to a vote of the Kirk Session, before the Lords of Council and Session, for recovering of the said lands from the Magistrates and Town Council; but that the same process was immediately sisted aye till application should be made to the Lord Archbishop of St Andrews.

And the Minister, Mr William Lindsay, who was then also Minister, being enquired anent the reason of their sisting that process, answered that it was upon the account of a letter from the Lord Archbishop to the Ministers, desiring them to forbear going along in that Process, until the affair should be represented and stated before him, which has never as yet been done.

The Brethren of the Visitation, therefore, finding that the Lord Archbishop has been desirous to take cognizance himself of that affair of the Blackfriars and Charterhouse, judges it not convenient for them to meddle with it any farther, but to enjoin, which by this their Act they do, the Ministers and Elders of the Kirk Session of Perth, to represent the said affair to the Lord Archbishop with all convenient diligence, and, as they will answer, not to be neglective of it.

Archbishop Sharp does not seem to have done anything in the matter, which accordingly lay long over. After the Revolution, the constitution of the Kirk-Session was reformed, and the magistracy excluded from being members of that body : nevertheless, the Town Council continued to draw the Blackfriars and Charter-honse rents. About the year 1728, the subject having come before the General Assembly, the Presbytery of Perth, in their own names and those of the ministers and elders of Perth, raised an action in the Court of Session for recovery of the said lands. The Council now overawed the Kirk-session and induced them to disclaim the action; but the Court found that such a disclaimer was incompetent, and the case went on to a decision by which the Hospital was decerned to receive the rents since the institution of the process, and in all time coming,—the Council being thus allowed (very unjustly, as we think) to retain all the money which they had been annually uplifting for a lengthened series of years prior to 1728.

In concluding our historical sketch of the Dominican Monastery at Perth, we must turn back for a moment that we may obtain a glimpse of the last of the Black Friars whose name appears on record. When the Friars were expelled from their ancient cloisters at the Reformation, such of them as conformed to the Protestant order of things, obtained annual stipends, for their support, out of the monastic revenues, and this appears to have been generally the case over the country. One of the Perth Dominicans, John Gray, latterly experienced some difficulty in getting payment of his annuity, and was necessitated to adopt legal steps therefor. At a meeting of the Kirk-session, held on 19th August, 1577, “compeared John Gray, and being demanded if he raised any Letters upon his pension owing to him as one sometime of the Brotherhood of the Black Friars of this town, answered that howbeit he raised Letters thereupon, yet in hope of good payment in time coming, as the rest gets, he discharges his said Letters and these executions thereupon, and all that may pass thereupon,

of the date of the second day of February, in the year of God, 1577," And this is the last notice of a Black Friar of Perth.*

* Rev. Mr Scott's MSS.; Hospital Books; *Sixth Report on Historical Manuscripts*; Knox's *History of the Reformation*; Archbishop Spottiswoode's *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 372; Father Innes' *Critical Essay*, p. 310; Stevenson's *Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland: 1286-1306*, vol. i., p. 4; Laing's *Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals*, p. 197, and *Supplemental Catalogue*, p. 207; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 202.

THE "KING'S BISHOP" OF DUNKELD.

Of Dunkelden the good Bishop
That William was called the Sinclair.

Barbour's "Bruce."

THIRTEEN hundred years ago, as we are told, a Christian Church, or some fabric combining a monastery and a church, was erected at Dunkeld by the King of the Picts, Bridei, son of Mailcon, who, according to the "Pictish Chronicle," reigned thirty years, and "in the eighth year of his reign was baptized by St Columba." The great Apostle of the Highlands came from Ireland in the year 563, and is said to have spent some months at Dunkeld, where he preached and taught, and at his departure left behind him a little Christian community in the house provided by King Bridei. No stately edifice of stone was this that arose on the green bank of the Tay, in the romantic hollow of the hills. It was reared of timber, or rather, as we should say, of wattled or wicker work, and thatched with rushes,—constructed of the like materials as were the huts of the rude dwellers around. There the Culdees, the disciples of St Columba, abode in peace and in the exercise of pious duty for a century and a-half, keeping the lamp of divine truth burning brightly, and humanizing the manners of a wild and warlike people who had been reclaimed from the bondage of dark superstition. But a change, a revolution came. "This much seems certain," says Dr Skene, "that the Columban Church remained the Church of the Pictish kingdom till the year 710; that between that year and 717 it was superseded by a church of a different character, and her monastic clergy driven out, while secular clergy of a different race replaced them; that the kingdom, which had venerated St Columba as its apostle, was placed under the patronage of St Peter, and that the great power acquired twenty years later by Angus, son of Fergus, was accompanied

by the foundation, in the year 736, of the Church of St Andrews, and the general adoption of St Andrew as the patron saint of the kingdom; that a century later the establishment of a King of the Scottish race on the Pictish throne was accompanied by the return of the Scottish clergy; and that the Scottish Church again acquired the supremacy in the reign of Constantine, under the primacy of St Andrews and its bishop": moreover, the writer quoted is of opinion that "among the causes which led to the revolution which placed a Scottish dynasty on the Pictish throne, not the least influential must have been an effort on the part of the Columban clergy to recover possession of their old establishments." Before the union of the Pictish and Scottish crowns, however, we read of a church of stone having been founded at Dunkeld, by Constantine, King of the Picts. A "Chronicle of the Picts and Scots" states that this church was built 225 years and eleven months after the church of Abernethy: and as Wyntoun has it—in the year 815:—

Aucht hunder winter and fifteen,
 * * * *

The King of Picts, Constantine,
 By Tay then founded Dunkeldine,
 A place solemn cathedral,
 Dowd well in temporal.
 The bishop and canons there
 Serves God and Saint Colme, secular.

The old Prior's editor, Macpherson, notes that "this Colme must not be confounded with the more famous Colum or Columba of Hyona, who died about the time that he was born. This latter Colme was Patron Saint of Dunkeld, where he was buried, and of Inch-Colme in the Forth." But we pass on, leaving the story as it stands.

Kenneth Macalpin, who united the two crowns, either by conquest or succession, now appears on the scene: and with him we hear of Norse inroad and ravage—of battles fought and lost by the fierce invaders: and then the victorious King of the two realms seeks after the bones of St Columba, which had been lifted from their grave in sea-girt Iona by the Abbot of the

isle, in 849, and transported to Ireland that they might be out of the reach of the Danes. Kenneth having defeated a Danish host near Dunkeld, was desirous of testifying his gratitude to heaven for the triumph vouchsafed to his arms; and, therefore, he brought back the saint of Iona's bones from their temporary resting-place in Erin, and laid them in Dunkeld, where he had built a church for their reception. "In the seventh year of his reign," says the Pictish Chronicle, "he transported the relics of St Columba to a church which he had built," and which is believed to have been at Dunkeld. Thenceforth the Culdee rule prevailed in Dunkeld for nearly three centuries, until David I., in 1127, transformed the Culdee Church into a Romish Cathedral, and appointed Gregory, the last Culdee Abbot, as Bishop of the new See; but at the same time, to disarm opposition to this measure, the King guaranteed the brethren of the establishment in their old rights and privileges during the remainder of their lives. How long this guarantee was operative is uncertain. One by one these brethren died out, and their places were filled by successors of another stamp, following the rites and owning the supremacy of Rome.

Peace to their shades! the pure Culdees
 Were Albyn's earliest priests of God,
 Ere yet an island of her seas
 By foot of Saxon monk was trod.

Some thirty years or so after the Culdee Church at Dunkeld became a Cathedral, its patronage, with right to the teinds and lands pertaining thereto, was gifted to the Abbot and Convent of Dunfermline. About 1159, Malcolm IV., son of David, granted the Church of the Holy Trinity of Dunkeld to the Abbey of Dunfermline, "as a free and perpetual gift, with the lands and all other rights belonging to it, to be possessed by the Abbey after the decease of Andrew, Bishop of Caithness," which gift was made for the salvation of the souls of all the King's ancestors. Bishop Andrew of Caithness, whose connection with this church must have arisen under a previous grant, executed a similar conveyance: and in 1164 the gift of King and Bishop

was confirmed by Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld, who granted the following charter :—

To all the sons of Holy Mother Church : Richard, by the grace of God, Bishop of Dunkeld, salutation and episcopal benediction : Since it belongs to our office to increase the respect of holy religion, let all as well present as future know, that I have granted, and by this my charter confirmed, to the Abbot of Dunfermline, and the monks there serving God, the donation of King Malcolm, and Andrew, Bishop of Caithness, as their charters testify, the Church of the Holy Trinity of Dunkeld and all the lands justly pertaining to it, free and quiet from every exaction, as well of ecclesiastics as of seculars, saving episcopal rights. I also grant to them *conversationem* in my bishoprick, and that they may exercise the divine office, and hold the cure of souls among their dependants; and that, while *conversantes* in my diocese, they shall receive from me those things which pertain to Christianity. Witnesses : Matthew, Archdeacon of St Andrews; Bricius, Prior of Inchcolm; Michael, the Clerk; Master Matthew, and John, his brother; Robert, cupbearer to the Bishop; Radulfus, the Chaplain; Thomas, the Presbyter; Murdoch, the Clerk; Abraham Little.

Confirmation was likewise given by a Bull of Pope Alexander III., dated 27th July, (1164) :—

ALEXANDER, Bishop, Servant of the servants of God, to his beloved sons, Geoffrey, Abbot of the Holy Trinity, Dunfermline, and his brethren, salutation and apostolic benediction. It becomes us to grant a ready consent to the just desires of suppliants; and reasonable vows are to be effectually performed. Therefore, sons beloved in the Lord, we, heartily assenting to your just request, confirm, by our apostolic authority, to you, and through you to your Church, the Church of the Holy Trinity of Dunkeld, as reasonably granted to your Monastery by Andrew, Bishop of Caithness, with the consent of the illustrious King of Scots; together with the towns belonging to the same Church, which we have judged proper to mention by name : *Fourdoun, Dunmernie, Bendachim, Cuparmaculum, Inch, Rumm, Cethic*. Let it be unlawful, therefore, to any to infringe this our confirmation, or oppose in any manner. Should any one presume to attempt this, let him know that he will incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of the blessed Peter and Paul, his apostles. Given at Sens, 27th July (1164).

The Dunfermline monks obtained the complete title to Dunkeld by the death of Andrew, Bishop of Caithness, which took place at Dunfermline, on 30th December, 1184.

The churchmen of Dunkeld, although dwelling in a lovely spot,—a “happy valley,” seemingly shut in by

the hills from an evil world,—endured many troubles and hardships, not only in the darker ages, the twilight of history, but in others succeeding. The Danes were an early terror. Their savage hordes, revelling in destruction and bloodshed, had once assailed the sanctuary by the Tay, setting the torch to it, and devoting the hamlet under its shadow to the same fate. That terror passed away with the final discomfiture of Scandinavian invasion; but the native denizens of the glens around Dunkeld paid scant reverence to the mitred Bishops, and, prone to rapine, now and again spoiled the ecclesiastical domains, plundering up to the very walls of the cathedral, and laughing to scorn the anathemas pronounced against them with bell, book, and candle. More evils were added, consequent on the situation: inundations of the Tay, wolves, and other wild and venomous creatures of the Highland wastes. Even down to the Reformation epoch, the Litany of Dunkeld contained a petition:—“From caterans and robbers, from wolves, and all wild beasts; from inundations of waters, Lord deliver us!”—showing how the old sources of dread continued to prevail in that district of country so near to the Lowlands.

It would prove an interesting study to trace the ecclesiastical history of Dunkeld from the Culdee days to those of the Reformation, when prelates were violently expelled and cathedrals purged or pulled to the ground. But such is not our present intent. Most of the Dunkeld Bishops have found an annalist in Alexander Myln, who was a Canon of the Cathedral in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and afterwards, as Abbot of Cambuskenneth, was made President of the College of Justice, on the institution of that Court in 1532; but his work has its drawbacks; for, as Bishop Keith observes, though the Canon might have been expected to give “a right exact series of the Bishops of this See, yet, upon perusal, we find the case to be very far otherwise, there being no greater confusion to be met with in any of the other Episcopal Sees.” Out of the

long line of Dunkeld Prelates we shall select one of them, for the purpose of delineating a remarkable episode in his career—an episode, moreover, which has a prominent place on the page which records the heroic deeds of Bruce and the achievement of Scottish independence. Several of those Bishops were gifted and distinguished men, worthy of their calling and full of good works. Among them was a famous poet, who sang of the “Palace of Honour,” and was the first to introduce Virgil to Britain in a native dress. Another and earlier occupant of the See took the field, on a memorable occasion, as a soldier, and won a brilliant victory over the national foe. It is this martial episode which we now desire to recount.

Sir William St Clair of Roslin, who flourished in the latter half of the thirteenth century, was a notable Scot of his time. He held the Sheriffalty of the shire of Edinburgh for life, and bore part in many important State transactions. He was a partisan of John Baliol, and one of his commissioners in the competition for the Scottish crown. He died about 1300, leaving three sons, Henry, William, and Gregory. Henry succeeded his father; and William, entering the Church, was in due time elevated to the episcopal dignity. About 1309, William was consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld. At this period Bruce was warring for his country’s liberties; and the new Prelate, inspired with patriotic ardour, warmly espoused the cause of his rightful King. Bruce triumphed; but even after Bannockburn he did not lay aside the sword. Ireland, held in subjection by the English conquerors, offered a new field for Scottish valour—a vulnerable point at which England might be assailed with the advantage of preventing another concentration of her power against Scotland. The chiefs of Ulster were ready for revolt; and a Scottish expedition, under Bruce’s brother, Edward, proceeded to Ireland, and opened the war. Edward was crowned King before his kingdom was gained, and eventually his royal brother crossed the Irish Channel to support him against the outnumbering enemy. It was while King

Robert was engaged in Ireland, in the year 1317, that the incident occurred at home which has conferred enduring renown on the name of Bishop St Clair of Dunkeld. The English Monarch, Edward II., the vanquished at Bannockburn, thinking to avail himself of Bruce's absence, ordered the muster of an army at Newcastle to invade Scotland; but though the troops gathered, the weak King, who had no stomach for the field of Mars, failed to appear at the rendezvous, and the plan of a grand invasion was frittered down into desultory inroads, which the Black Douglas and the High Steward successfully repelled. The English thus defeated by land, tried their fortune at sea. A naval squadron, with soldiers on board, sailed from the Humber, and entered the Firth of Forth, intending to ravage the Fife and Lothian coasts, the Scots being destitute of war vessels to oppose them. The ships sailed up the Firth as far as Donibristle, east of Innerkeithing, where they cast anchor, and the disembarkation of the troops began.

The progress of the ships had been eagerly watched from the shores of the estuary, and the alarm spread far and wide over the country. No military force was near to oppose the landing of the enemy; for Douglas and the Steward were on the Border with the Scottish army. The Sheriff of Fife, however, on the appearance of the hostile fleet, summoned all fencible men to arms; but from the shortness of time only 500 cavalry responded to the call. Heading this body, he moved along the coast, keeping abreast of the ships, which finally came to an anchorage near Donibristle, and the boats were lowered for the landing of the soldiers. The Sheriff designed to attack the invaders in the act of debarkation; but on seeing that their numbers were greater than had been anticipated, his men lost heart, refused to hazard a conflict, and retired in confusion, leaving the shore defenceless. It so happened that Bishop St Clair of Dunkeld was then sojourning at a residence which he possessed at Auchtertool. The arrival of the English squadron roused his bold spirit.

He was a stout and stalwart personage,—“right hardy, and meikle and stark,” as Archdeacon Barbour depicts him,—and in his breast beat a true Scottish heart. As a churchman, he was debarred from using temporal weapons : nevertheless, at this crisis his patriotism, his sense of duty to his country, prevailed over all canonical rules. At once he commanded his servants and retainers to arm and mount to meet the foe. He donned mail-coat and helm, drew on his white linen rochet over his armour, and, taking a spear in his hand, rode forth at the head of his troop, numbering sixty horse, to assist in beating back the threatened attack. As he galloped towards Donibristle, he was met by the Sheriff and his fugitive train, whom he indignantly ordered to halt. They obeyed at the word of the militant prelate. He demanded the reason of so disgraceful a flight, and was answered by the Sheriff that his men had taken alarm at the strength of the enemy and would not abide a battle. “What !” exclaimed the Bishop, “art thou the King’s servant, commissioned and sworn to defend the land, and yet thou hast fled from the face of the invader without striking a blow ? Certes, thou art but a recreant knight : and if the King served thee justly he would hack the gilt spurs from thy heels ; for so do brave men deal with cowards. Turn for shame ! Let all who love Scotland and King Bruce follow me !” His scathing speech and courageous bearing emboldened the Fife men. They turned with him, and the combined party hastened forward. The Southrons were already spread hither and thither in quest of plunder, and without a thought of danger. “Friends,” said the Bishop, “make but one valiant charge and the day is ours. And now it will be seen who are good Scots, lovers of their King and country, and who are false cravens.” Not one craven was now in the band. The troop rushed on like a whirlwind, and with a shout that struck dismay to English hearts. Unable to rally and meet the coming tempest, the enemy hurried in wild disorder to their boats ; but the cavalry were on them, spearing and trampling down,

and strewing the strand with dead and wounded. It was no battle, but a massacre. In the press and confusion to escape from the fatal shore the slaughter was pitiless. So many fugitives crowded into one of the boats that as soon as it put off, it swamped and all its living freight went to the bottom. Amid this scene of flight and death, a Southron soldier, however, displayed extraordinary hardihood. Closely pursued by a dismounted Scot, he suddenly wheeled round and seized his enemy, and they both grappled together; but the Southron proved the stronger and better man. Lifting his antagonist by main force from the ground, he flung him into the nearest boat, and, leaping aboard after him, was rowed off with his prisoner,—the only prisoner taken on that side. The remnant of the English escaped to their ships; and the Scots counted 500 men lying in their blood on the sands. And, as Barbour concludes the story, the invaders sailed away down the Firth in wrath and woe because of their defeat :—

The Englishmen that went away
Toward their ships in hy went they,
And sailed home angry and wae
That they had been rebutted sae.

The victory was hailed with acclaim all over the land, and the praises of the bold Bishop of Dunkeld were on every tongue. When King Robert returned from Ireland, leaving his brother to continue the war, he loaded the Bishop with thanks, and declared that henceforth he should be his “own Bishop.” From that day, the *King's Bishop* became the honourable title by which Bishop St Clair passed among his countrymen. He lived throughout the reign of Bruce, who, it is said, when writing letters to him, invariably addressed them “To our Bishop.”

The Bishop, about 1318, began the building of the choir of Dunkeld Cathedral on the site of the old monastery. “He built the choir from the ground,” says Canon Myln, “in memorial of which he put a fluted cross on the east gable, which to this day is used

for the arms of his family and name." The cross *ingraillie* having remained for five centuries until it succumbed to sheer decay it has recently been renewed in the same position. "It made a burial-place for himself," continues the Canon, "about the middle of the choir, near the stair of the Chapter-House." In the rule of his diocese, the Bishop evinced great capacity and many estimable qualities. "When this prelate resided at Tibbermuir, there came to him for ordinary confirmation Mr Finlay, monk, of Icolmkill, and who then had been chosen Abbot. This confirmation was granted at the peculiar request of King Robert, but whoever was to give the benediction, the Convent obliged itself to pay six score of marks, to be laid out on the fabric of the choir. As he (the Bishop) thought the Archdeacon's income too scanty, he joined to this office the Church of Logynalloquhy; and to the Church of Little Dunkeld he gave the glebe which the vicar pensionary at present possesses. By his prudent management, this venerable prelate recovered from Symon Halden the lands of Grenach, in the parish of Lecrop, near Stirling."

It is to be regretted that something like a stain attaches to the patriotic reputation of the "King's Bishop" in his latter days. Not long had Robert Bruce rested in his grave at Dunfermline, when his young son, David, was driven from the throne by Edward Baliol. When this pretender and his English adherents advanced to the banks of the Earn in August, 1332, the Bishop of Dunkeld joined the Scottish army, under the Regent Mar, which lay on the moor of Dupplin to intercept the invaders. Mar's camp was treacherously surprised in the grey of the morning, and his soldiers were scattered with dreadful slaughter. Bishop St Clair and the Earl of Fife were amongst the prisoners taken; "and both," says Buchanan, "in the then desperate situation of affairs, were forced to take an oath of allegiance" to the usurper. Nay, more—when Edward Baliol hurried on his coronation at Scone, both the Earl of Fife and the

Bishop of Dunkeld officiated at the ceremony—perchance from the same compulsion. But Baliol's reign was short and inglorious: he was chased out of Scotland never to return.

Bishop St Clair died on the 29th June, 1337. "He deserves," says Myln, "to be reckoned among the best Bishops." He was buried in the choir, "under a marble monument, and there was a handsome statue of him in alabaster; but this statue was removed to the west side of the north window of the choir, near the great altar." The statue was probably knocked to pieces at the Reformation; but some remains of the marble monument exist to this day in the Cathedral.*

* *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*. Edited by Dr W. F. Skene, pp. clxii., clxiii., 8, 201, 202; Wyntoun's *Croneykil*. Edited by David Laing, vol. ii., p. 81, vol. iii., p. 229; *Kalendar of Scottish Saints*. By the Bishop of Brechin, p. lxii.; Chalmers' *Historical Account of Dunfermline*: 1844, pp. 219, 225; Henderson's *Annals of Dunfermline*, pp. 56, 57, 58, 62; Archbishop Spottiswoode's *History of the Church of Scotland* (Spottiswoode Society), vol. i., pp. 195, 232; Kerr's *History of Scotland during the Reign of Robert I.*, vol. ii., p. 115; Tytler's *History of Scotland*; Barbour's *Bruce*, book xvi.; *Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth* (Myln's *Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld*); Buchanan's *History of Scotland*, book ix., cap. 98; *New Statistical Account of Perthshire* (Dunkeld and Dowally).

SERGEANT MHOR, THE JACOBITE CATERAN.

————— Before me stand
This rebel chieftain and his band.

Lady of the Lake.

WELL-KNOWN is the romantic story of the "Seven Men of Glenmorriston," who protected Prince Charles Edward during part of his perilous wanderings in the Highlands, after Culloden, and whose fidelity to the royal fugitive was uncorrupted by the reward of £30,000 sterling offered for his arrest. No better proof could be adduced of the honour, good faith, and trustworthiness of the Highlanders, and of their inviolable attachment to the Prince, than was displayed by that little band of outlaws : and no better refutation could be given to the malicious slander that the clans, as a rule, embarked in the Rebellion for the sake of enriching themselves with booty. The Seven Men had all been engaged on the Jacobite side in the insurrection, and when the cause was lost on Culloden Moor, they made their retreat to remote fastnesses, where, banding together by a solemn compact, they vowed to defend themselves to the last against Cumberland's soldiery, and never while they lived to lay down their arms and submit. Originally seven in number, they were joined by another comrade while the Prince was under their guardianship. They obtained their subsistence by plundering the enemy, and they occasionally fought and routed detached military parties. Their oath of fealty to the Prince ran thus : "that their backs should be to God, and their faces to the devil, that all the curses the Scriptures did pronounce might come upon them and all their posterity, if they did not stand firm to the Prince in the greatest dangers, and if they should discover to any person, man, woman, or child, that the Prince was in their keeping, till once his person should be out of danger : " and this oath they so scrupulously kept that a whole year elapsed after the Young Chevalier had

escaped from Scotland, before any of them ever revealed their secret. It has been asserted that one of them was subsequently hanged for stealing a cow; but this is a mistake. No one of that band came to such an end. They stood out in arms until the Act of Indemnity, in 1747, delivered them from all danger, and enabled them to return to their homes. But a man, not of their number, who was sentenced to death at Inverary, in 1754, for robbery, endeavoured to excite compassion amongst the Jacobite gentry, and induce them to make intercession for his life, by falsely representing that he was one of the Glenmorriston men; until on finding that no mercy would be extended to him, he confessed the imposture and its motive.

Besides the Glenmorriston men, the defeat of the insurrection and the savage cruelties of Cumberland drove many of the common rebels to become caterans or cattle-lifters and robbers in the north. With some of them, this was but a recurrence to their old habits: they had been marauders before they put the white cockade in their bonnets, and when they pulled it out they resumed their former trade. It was remarkable, however, that these rebel-banditti, in carrying on their depredations, generally discriminated between friends and foes, —between Hanoverians and Jacobites,—and for a considerable time they systematically directed onfalls upon the dwellings and property of the parish ministers, who were all staunch supporters of Government. Such outrages grew so frequent and so flagrant that the victims made formal petition to the General Assembly regarding their sufferings. At the quarterly meeting of the Commission of Assembly, on 12th November, 1746, letters were read from ministers in the north, setting forth their distress caused by parties of robbers coming down upon their houses in the night; and a Committee was appointed to communicate with the Earl of Albemarle, Commander-in-Chief in Scotland in succession to the Duke of Cumberland. Again, at the Commission meeting in March, 1747, complaints were made by the Presbyteries of Aberdeen and Aberbrothock concerning

depredations committed on the houses of ministers by "outstanding rebels;" and the Commission resolved to lay the matter before the Lord Justice-Clerk and Major-General Huske. One of the most inveterate plunderers of the parochial clergy was a fugitive rebel, a Lowlander born, who had been a private soldier in the British army, from which he deserted and joined the ranks of Prince Charles. His name was James Davidson, and he was a native of Brechin. Surviving Culloden, he took to the hills and to his own hand as a robber; and, still swayed by Jacobite principle, he confined his attacks solely to the enemies of the cause, and was peculiarly active in pillaging manses in Forfarshire and Aberdeenshire. He was apprehended in 1748, and, being carried to Aberdeen, was tried and executed. Others of his class pursued their evil courses for longer periods, until checked by the hangman.

But none of the rebel-caterans attained the fame of SERJEANT MHOR, whose daring elevated him to the character of a hero in the eyes of the humbler orders, whom he invariably refrained from injuring. John Dhu Cameron was his name; but, from the stalwart height and proportions of his figure, he was called *Mhor*—big or great. Being of an adventurous spirit in his youth, and fancying a military career,—while being Jacobitically inclined, he disliked the service of the House of Hanover,—he crossed to France, and entered the French army, in which by his steady conduct and soldierly qualities he rose to the rank of Serjeant. On the outbreak of the Rebellion of 1745, he forsook the French colours, and, returning to Scotland, became an ardent adherent of Prince Charles, whom he followed throughout the war. Culloden dashed his hopes; and, being thrown upon his own resources, he became a cateran, and collected around him a band of desperadoes, of whom he was chosen chief or captain. The troubled state of the country afforded full scope to the energies of the gang, and when danger threatened they found safe refuge among the recesses of the mountains bordering the three counties of Perth, Inverness, and Argyle,

now lurking in the wilds of Badenoch and Drumnachter, now on the rocky banks of Loch Ericht, and now in the wastes beyond Loch Lydoch, or in the wilderness of the Moor of Rannoch. Serjeant Mhor, as he was popularly designated, carried his Jacobitism into practice as a cattle-lifter, by plundering exclusively among the Whig party; and he gained the good wishes of the poorer people by sparing and befriending them on all occasions. He also adopted the system of *Black-mail*, and regularly uplifted this protection-money from many persons on the Lowland borders, making good any losses of cattle they sustained by other marauders. In this way, by degrees, he rendered himself a kind of power in the Highlands, and his name was both respected and dreaded far and near. Fruitless were all attempts to seize him either by force or guile. Whether alone or at the head of his band, he baffled every design of his enemies. And be it said that rude and lawless as were the lives of this man and his associates, he possessed qualities worthy of a much higher sphere of exertion, if his destiny had been otherwise cast. He was brave and trusty : a soldier's sense of honour ever distinguished him : and he doubtless justified to his own mind his marauding vocation by regarding it as the inevitable necessity or outcome of a state of warfare with the usurping Government. His proudest boast was that neither he nor any one of his followers had ever shed a drop of blood in their nefarious exploits; but unhappily, as bad luck would have it, this boast was at length denied him. One day, while the gang were driving a *creach*, or spoil of cattle, in Braemar, they were overtaken and attacked, and in the scuffle, one of the assailants, named John Bruce, in Inneredrie, was killed. As soon as the Serjeant saw this man fall, deep remorse overcame him, and, commanding the spoil to be relinquished, he and his band made off empty-handed.

At another time his generosity, and his native pride and dignity, operated to the disadvantage of his purse. The story goes that a military officer, travelling to Fort

William with a large sum of money for the pay of that garrison, lost his route on the hills of Lochaber. He was journeying alone, without any escort,—perhaps some emergency having prevented the sending of a party for his protection. At all events—whatever was the reason of his being unattended—he lost his way, as we have said, and, while in great perplexity about it, accidentally encountered a solitary Highlander, a fine specimen of the Gael—dark-visaged, of gigantic height and herculean build, with a little of the soldier in his bearing. They fell in talk: the mountaineer was friendly; and the traveller stated his difficulty, mentioned the money he was carrying, and expressed apprehension lest by wandering in unfrequented paths he might chance to meet with Sergeant Mhor. The other admitted that there was ground for such a fear, but readily undertook to put him on the right road, and guide him past all danger. The officer was very thankful, and so they went on together. Conversing freely, as they jogged along for miles, their discourse naturally turned on the redoubtable Sergeant Mhor, his misdeeds and hairbreadth escapes, and the officer did not scruple to stigmatize him as a robber and a murderer—epithets which he repeated so often and so bitterly, that the Highlander’s blood roused. “Stop, stop!” he exclaimed at last, making a full pause. “You are unjust to Sergeant Mhor. If he plunders, he plunders only the cattle of the Whigs and Sassenachs, who are his natural enemies; but neither he nor his *cearnachs* ever spilt innocent blood except once, and that was in Braemar, when a man was cut down in a melee. The moment he fell,” continued the speaker, “I ordered the *creach* to be abandoned, and drew off without another blow being struck.” The officer stared in utter amazement, hardly crediting his own ears. “You?” he cried. “What had you to do with the affair?” “Everything,” replied the cateran. “My name is John Dhu Cameron: I am the Serjeant Mhor! There lies your road to Inverlochy. You cannot now mistake it. You and your money are safe. Tell your Governor to send in future a more

wary messenger for his gold. Tell him also that, although an outlaw, and forced to live as I do, I am a soldier as well as himself, and would despise taking his gold from a defenceless man who confided in me." Thus they parted. The messenger proceeded towards his destination, astonished at the peril he had run and the honourable conduct of the outlaw, whom, we may be very sure, he never again spoke of with disrespect. This adventure has been attributed by Sir Walter Scott to another Highland bandit called John Gun, the head of a band of gipsies, who flourished at the same time with the Serjeant, and it is introduced in the *Lady of the Lake*,—where Roderick Dhu conducts Fitz-James—

O'er stock and stone, through watch and ward,
Till past Clan Alpine's outmost guard,
As far as Coilantogle's Ford.

But the version of the tale which we have followed is that given by General Stewart of Garth, who received his information about the Serjeant from a gentleman who was contemporary with him, and, therefore, could scarcely have been mistaken.

Nor was this adventure with the officer the only instance in which Serjeant Mhor's generosity of spirit made him forego opportunity of plunder. In those times, there was a public-house on the south side of the Upper High Street, Perth, directly opposite to Paul Street, and it was tenanted by a man who conjoined the vocations of cattle-dealer, flesher, and vendor of ale and mountain-dew. The Michaelmas Tryst at Crieff was then the greatest cattle-market between Inverness and Stirling, and usually lasted a week. At one of these trysts the Perth Boniface attended, and made a considerable purchase ; but presently hearing that Serjeant Mhor and his gang were in the market, he became alarmed for the safety of his beasts on the way home. Having a slight acquaintance with the celebrated cateran, the anxious dealer sought him out, proposed an "adjournment," and had a caulker or two with him. In the end, the pair grew so "gracious," that the Serjeant sent a few of his band to escort his

boon companion several miles on the road to Perth till past all chance of danger. The story goes that subsequently the publican had always more meat for sale than had been the case formerly, while, strange to say, a hide was never seen about his premises, so that the suspicion went that he was in the habit of helping the Sergeant to dispose of some of his "lifted" cattle.

Seven years did the Serjeant infest the north, defying the power of the law; but the evil day came in the end. He often, when by himself, passed nights during bad weather in the steading of a friend on the farm of Dunan, in Rannoch. This rugged district had been the retreat for some time of a brother clansman and rebel, Donach Dhu Cameron, who, escaping from Culloden, sought concealment in a rocky recess, or "sheltering bed," on the north side of Glencomrie, called from that circumstance *Leaba Dhonnacha Dhuibh-a-mhonaidh*—"The Bed of Black Duncan of the Mountain." There, while he lay unseen, he frequently viewed soldiers in pursuit of him passing to and fro at the foot of the precipice, twenty yards below. "This man," it is said, "was remarkable for agility and swiftness of foot. While Prince Charles was besieging Stirling Castle, Donnacha Dubh was sent upon some important business to Fort-William. Duncan is said to have performed the journey on foot, 88 miles, in one day,—a task which few pedestrians of this generation, or probably of his own, could achieve." Sergeant Mhor, however, was always welcome to resort to the house of his friend, whom he deemed incapable of treachery, but who ultimately, it appears, proved false, and betrayed him under the temptation of a bribe. This happened in the year 1753, and shortly after a small detachment of military from Badenoch, under Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro, had been stationed in Rannoch at about a couple of miles' distance from Dunan farm. Thither, to his well-tried entertainer's dwelling, one stormy evening, came Sergeant Mhor alone, and was received with the old hospitality. After partaking of a hearty supper, and tossing off a few stiff caulkers, he

went to pass the night in the accustomed barn among plenty of straw. But when slumber had sealed his eyelids, some one stealthily stole in upon him, and removed his claymore, dirk, and pistols. Soon he was rudely awakened in the grasp of the *sidier roy*—(the red soldiers). But Cameron was habituated to danger. His life was in his hand, and though unarmed he struggled to the utmost. He gained his feet, and, exerting his great strength, threw off his assailants, and dashed one man with such violence against the wall of the barn, that he fell down insensible, and, in fact, was long an invalid from the effects of the shock. The bold outlaw rushed to the door, hoping to escape in the darkness; but there he was met by the remainder of the party, who, crowding upon him, overpowered his desperate resistance, threw him down on the floor, and made him prisoner.

The Serjeant being thus secured, was taken under a strong guard to Perth, where he was lodged in the Tolbooth. Another cateran named Angus Dhu Cameron, evidently a member of the band, was also apprehended and brought to Perth, accused of having been art and part guilty with the Serjeant in an act of sheep-stealing in Athole when on their way down the country from Braemar. At the Autumn Circuit Court of Justiciary held in Perth, the two Camerons were placed at the bar. Two indictments were read: the first of which charged Serjeant Mhor with the murder of John Bruce in Inneredrie, Braemar, and with sundry thefts, and likewise with being habit and repute a common and notorious thief: and the second charged him and Angus Dhu with having stolen two wedders at Blair-Athole. One jury heard both cases. On the first indictment the Serjeant was found "guilty, art and part, of the murder libelled; of stealing three horses and a filly belonging to John Blair, in Ballachraggan; and of being habit and repute a common thief in the country." There was some dubiety about the other case, and the diet being deserted against Angus Dhu, he was re-committed on certain new charges of robbery. Sentence

was then passed on Serjeant Mhor to the effect, that he should lie in Perth Prison till the 23d of November, and be fed on bread and water (in terms of the Act 25 George II.), and on that day be hanged at the common place of execution near to the burgh, and then his body to be hung in chains.

At this period—and for long previously, and until the year 1773—death sentences in the Scottish Court of Justiciary were recited over by the grim and repulsive official called the *Doomster*, who was generally the common hangman. The custom was that when the sentence was recorded, the presiding Judge rang a hand-bell, which was the signal for the emergence of the *Doomster* into the open Court. The Clerk then read out the sentence, which was repeated by the *Doomster*, who, at the close of his recitation, laid his right hand on the head of the condemned criminal, adding the words—“And this I pronounce for doom!” When a sentence was not capital, it was repeated by one of the Macers of Court. We all remember the vivid picture of the *Doomster* in the discharge of his duty at the trial of Effie Deans in *The Heart of Midlothian* :—

When the *Doomster* showed himself, a tall, haggard figure, arrayed in a fantastic garment of black and grey, passmented with silver lace, all fell back with a sort of instinctive horror, and made wide way for him to approach the foot of the table. As this office was held by the common executioner, men shouldered each other backward to avoid even the touch of his garment, and some were seen to brush their own clothes, which had accidentally become subject to such contamination. A sound went through the Court, produced by each person drawing in their breath hard, as men do when they expect or witness what is frightful, and at the same time affecting. The caitiff villain yet seemed, amid his hardened brutality, to have some sense of his being the object of public detestation, which made him impatient of being in public, as birds of ill omen are anxious to escape from daylight, and from pure air.

Repeating after the Clerk of Court, he gabbled over the words of the sentence, which condemned Euphemia Deans to be conducted back to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and detained there until Wednesday, the — day of — ; and upon that day, betwixt the hours of two and four o'clock afternoon, to be conveyed to the common place of

execution, and there hanged by the neck upon a gibbet. "And this," said the Doomster, aggravating his harsh voice, "I pronounce for *doom*."

He vanished when he had spoken the last emphatic word, like a foul fiend after the purpose of his visitation had been accomplished; but the impression of horror, excited by his presence and his errand, remained upon the crowd of spectators.

Serjeant Mhor being condemned, the Perth Doomster or hangman appeared in the Court to perform his dread office, and was approaching to place his hand, according to immemorial custom, on the bare head of the prisoner, when the latter in a sudden paroxysm of indignation, ejaculated—"Keep the caitiff off! Let him not touch me!"—at the same time threatening to strike the odious wretch if he ventured within reach. The formidable figure and furious looks and gestures of the outlaw terrified the Doomster. He retired at once out of harm's way, without completing the usual formula. This circumstance was related to General Stewart of Garth by a gentleman who had been present at the trial. But such a scene had already happened twice in the Circuit Court at Inverness, in the spring of the same year, 1753. A young lad, John M'Connachy or M'Donald, condemned for sheep-stealing, flew into a rage on the approach of the Doomster, ordered him to keep off, and struck him a heavy blow on the face; but the attendant constables seized the culprit and held him fast until the hated official had done his duty. Another case at the same Circuit, on a subsequent day, was that of M'Connachy's uncle, John Breck Kennedy, who was condemned for cattle-lifting. Like his nephew, he attacked the Doomster, and also struck and kicked so violently about him at all and sundry that he had to be pinioned and handcuffed till the legal ceremony was gone through. It is thus seen that Serjeant Mhor's outrageous conduct at the bar was but following recent precedents.

The serjeant underwent the extreme penalty of the law on the day fixed, the 23rd November, 1753,—the place of execution being on the Burgh-Muir of Perth, where his body was left hanging in chains. As to his

betrayed, he "was heartily despised" by all his neighbours, says General Stewart; "and having lost all his property, by various misfortunes, he left the country in extreme poverty, although he rented from Government a farm on advantageous terms, on the forfeited estate of Strowan. The favour shewn him by the Government gave a degree of confirmation to the suspicions raised against him; and the firm belief of the people to this day is, that his misfortunes were a just judgment upon him for his breach of trust towards a person who had, without suspicion, reposed confidence in him."

By a curious coincidence, John Gun, the Gipsy-cateran, to whom has been attributed (erroneously, as we believe) the adventure with the Fort William officer, was brought to trial at the Autumn Circuit Court of Aberdeen, in 1753, and was sentenced to be hanged on the 23rd of November ensuing, the very day appointed for the execution of Serjeant Mhor. But John's star was luckier than that which ruled the serjeant's lot. When judgment was passed upon him, John broke out in great wrath, declaring that he had been unjustly dealt with, and that he would never forgive the Justice of Peace who had committed him, or the Lord-Advocate who had conducted the prosecution. As if, indeed, there were some grounds for his angry complaint, he was reprieved, and ultimately sent across the sea to the Virginia plantations.*

* Chambers's *History of the Rebellion of 1745-6*; Bruce's *Black Kalendar of Aberdeen* (2d edition), pp. 38, 39, 45, 85-89; Morren's *Annals of the Assembly: 1739-1752*, pp. 94, 95; General Stewart's *Sketches of the Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 64, vol. ii., appendix, p. xx.; Notes to *Lady of the Lake—Canto Fifth*; Penny's *Traditions of Perth*, p. 100; *Scots Magazine* for 1753; Chambers's *Book of Scotland*, p. 318,

KING CRISPIN AND HIS ORDER.--Part 1st.

You that the *Gentle Craft* possess,
Attend to my song, be it more or less ;
And I will tell you many things
Of worthy and renowned kings,
And divers knights and lords also,
That were Shoemakers long ago.

Song of the Sons of the Gentle Craft.

FOR several centuries, at least, shoemaking has been designated as *par excellence* the “Gentle Craft,” and this because it happened to be practised for a season by two Christian saints, whom tradition eventually transformed into royal personages. As Christian saints, the brothers Crispin and Crispinian, martyrs, became the tutelars or patrons of the shoemakers, both in this country and on the continent; while it would appear that the cobblers, as a distinct and separate branch of the craft, adopted St Euseus, Hermit and Confessor; for we find him so classified in lists of patron saints. In olden days, it was the universal custom that the various crafts celebrated each the feast of its patron saint by public demonstrations, such as processions and banquets. But in process of time—we cannot tell exactly when it came about—an Order was formed in this country, after the model of the Freemasons, in honour of Crispin, who had been raised to regal rank, and was known as *King Crispin*. The Sutordom of Scotland was long distinguished for its surpassing devotion to the memory of its patron. This was evinced by the splendour of the pageantry which the various Crispin Lodges often displayed on the 25th of October, the Feast of Crispin, which was devoted to stately ceremonial and plenteous conviviality. We are told that “this anniversary was celebrated in Scotland with a degree of pomp and magnificence unknown to the subjects of King Crispin in other parts of the world”: while

the old Scots rhyme, blunt and outspoken after the manner of its kindred, bears testimony that

On the 25th of October
There was never a Sutor sober.

though we must add, in justice to the brotherhood, that

Cobblers from Crispin boast their public spirit,
And all are upright downright men of merit.

The Lodges of the different towns vied with each other in the showy grandeur of the procession, which threw all other processions into the shade; for, indeed, what could compete with the imposing spectacle of a robed and crowned King and all his Court?

So much by way of introduction: and in proceeding farther we shall first bring together the *quasi* historical, and the legendary or fabulous, accounts of Crispin and Crispinian (or Crispianus, as he was latterly called); and then present various interesting gleanings and reminiscences respecting the "Gentle Craft," its "Royal Lodges," and its pageants and festivals.

What is probably the true history of the brothers is given by Alban Butler, in his *Lives of the Saints*. He states that "these two glorious martyrs," Crispin and Crispinian, "came from Rome to preach the faith in Gaul, towards the middle of the third century, together with St Quinten and others. Fixing their residence at Soissons, in imitation of St Paul they instructed many in the faith of Christ, which they preached publicly in the day, at seasonable times; and, in imitation of St Paul, worked with their hands in the night, making shoes, though they are said to have been nobly born, and brothers. The infidels listened to their instructions, and were astonished at the example of their lives, especially of their charity, disinterestedness, heavenly piety, and contempt of glory and all earthly things; and the effect was the conversion of many to the Christian faith. The brothers had continued this employment several years, when the Emperor Maximian Hercules, coming into the Belgic Gaul, a complaint was lodged against them. The Emperor, perhaps as

much to gratify their accusers as to indulge his own superstition, and give way to his savage cruelty, gave order that they should be convened before Rictius Varus, the most implacable enemy of the Christian name, whom he had first made Governor of that part of Gaul, and had then advanced to the dignity of Prefect of the Prætorium. The martyrs were victorious over this most inhuman judge, by the patience and constancy with which they bore the most cruel torments, and finished their course by the sword about the year 287. They are mentioned in the Martyrologies of St Jerome, Bede, Florus, Ado, Usuard, &c. A great church was built at Soissons in their honour in the sixth century, and St Eligius richly ornamented their sacred shrine." The learned author adds that "SS. Crispin and Crispinian are the patrons and models of the pious confraternity of brother shoemakers—an establishment begun by Henry Michael Buch, commonly called 'Good Henry,' in the early part of the seventeenth century. His parents were poor day-labourers of Erlon, in the Duchy of Luxemburgh. Henry was distinguished from his infancy by his extraordinary piety and prudence. He was put very young to a shoemaker." The confraternity here spoken of was founded in the year 1645. According to a Kentish tradition, the bodies of SS. Crispin and Crispinian, after martyrdom, were thrown into the sea, and soon were washed ashore, on the coast of England, at Romney Marsh, where the country people took them up and gave them burial.

But, on the other hand, several well-known Saints have two biographies, utterly irreconcilable, and as wide as the poles asunder. Witness SS. George, Andrew, Patrick, James, Anthony, and others, who are brought to figure as chivalrous "Champions of Christendom," wandering as knights-errant, slaying dragons, breaking the spells of magicians, and releasing captive damsels: and Crispin and Crispinian are not left far behind in this respect. Turn we, therefore, from the solemn pages of the Romish hagiography to

those of romance, and strange scenes await us. There is a venerable tract, called *Crispin and Crispianus; or, the Delightful and Princely History of the Gentle Craft*, which has become exceedingly scarce—one of our Scottish antiquarians (Mr James Maidment) complaining that a copy is not to be found in the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh; and as this brochure contains the legends on which the ritual and traditions of the Crispin Lodges are chiefly founded, we shall give a brief *rifacimento* of it.

When Maximus, the Roman Emperor, sought to destroy all the young British noblemen (thus the *Princely History* opens), the wise and good Queen of Logria, which is now called Kent, who dwelt in the ancient city of Canterbury, the metropolis of that country, having two sons of very great natural endowments, their names being Crispin and Crispianus, and, being extremely anxious for their preservation and deliverance from the hands of the cruel tyrant, advised with them as follows:—"My dear and most beloved sons, you see the constant danger that hangs over your heads, from the cruelty of this unmerciful tyrant, who, having surprised into his custody the greatest part of the young nobility of this land, with intent to send them into slavery in foreign countries—and, among the rest, is searching for you—in order to make a clear riddance of all the true-born princes, and put strangers in their places. Therefore, my dear sons, take the counsel of your affectionate mother, and seek, in time, to prevent the impending danger. Disguise yourselves in honest habits, and seek out some private employment, where you may remain in safety till it shall please God to restore you again to your proper dignity." Seeing their mother so earnest, the young Princes resolved to comply with her wishes; and accordingly they cast off their princely attire, and put on mean garments, and receiving their mother's blessing, they took their leave, with many bitter tears. The world was now all before them. Wandering about they knew not whither, they came at length to the town of Feversham, where, early in the morning, they heard some honest shoemakers singing a "Hey down, down, down derry" song. Observing how merry and contented these honest poor fellows appeared, the young Princes observed to each other how happy it would be for them if, in their distress, they could become such as the shoemakers. After debating with themselves for some time, as to what was most proper to be done, the elder brother, Crispin, plucked up courage and knocked at the door, which was presently opened by one of the journeymen, to whom Crispin addressed this ingenious speech:—"Good sir, pardon our boldness. We are two unfortunate youths, that, by hard fortune and the fate of

war, are reduced to the last extremity. We are driven friendless on the world, and are, therefore, constrained, in this miserable state, to inquire for a service at the first place we come to. Necessity is despised by every one, and misfortune always trodden under foot, and if we had not a dependence upon Providence (who, we trust, will at some time or other relieve us) we should be driven to the depths of despair." Commiserating their forlorn condition and dejected looks, the journeyman forwith called his mistress, who, coming to the door, viewed them thoroughly, and then said, "You look with very honest faces. How comes it that you are out of place? Would you be shoemakers, and learn the *gentle craft*? If so, and you be true and trusty to your master, and serve God, you may do very well. I will go and speak to my husband. Come in, lads, come in." With that she took them into the house, and speedily brought her husband, who, looking upon them with great steadfastness, and being wonderfully taken with their behaviour, told them they should dwell with him, if they consented to be bound apprentices for seven years. The poor youths readily gave consent; the bargain was struck, and they immediately entered upon the business.

The agents of the merciless tyrant having discovered the evasion of the Princes from Canterbury, diligent search was made for them in all quarters, but without success. Though the officers came to the very shoemaker's house in which they were, yet by reason of their disguise, the two fugitives were not discovered. Not long after, the Queen (their mother) was arrested by order of the tyrant and consigned to the dungeons of Colchester Castle, because she would not, or could not, reveal the retreat of her sons. As she passed through Feversham, on her way to Colchester, she had the good fortune to see her sons at work, which sight gave her a great deal of comfort and consolation, so that she was enabled to endure the rigours of her confinement with much courage and resignation, hoping for the day of deliverance. Meanwhile everything went well with her two sons. They continued diligently at their business, making it their whole study to please their good master and mistress, but especially the mistress, following the sage counsel of an old journeyman, which was to this effect:—

"However things do frame,
Serve well thy master,
But chiefly thy dame."

In the course of four or five years their master became very wealthy, and they themselves very skilful and expert in their trade, insomuch that the shop acquired the character of breeding up the best workmen in the kingdom. So good a report of his establishment procured the master all the work of the Court, and he was raised to the dignity of "Shoemaker to the Emperor," and most probably blazoned the high-sounding title on his sign-board. In consequence of this imperial favour, some of

his men were daily going to the Emperor's palace with shoes and to receive orders; but our friends Crispin and Crispianus kept themselves from going there as much as possible, for fear of a discovery, which would lead to their immediate destruction. At length, thinking that all remembrance of them was entirely worn out from their enemies' minds, they ventured to approach the palace, desirous as well to hear tidings of the Queen their mother as to seek their own preferment. They went, and were not suspected.

Now (quoth the author of the *Princely History*), among all the shoemakers' men that came to the Court with shoes, young Crispin had the preference with the Princess Ursula. This royal lady was the only daughter of that *Ursa Major*, the Emperor, who continually thirsted for the blood of the disguised brothers. Her mother had paid the debt of nature, and her father was always projecting to bestow her hand upon some Roman of renown. But the fair Ursula rejected all offers that were made to her; for she was smitten with love of Crispin; she had fallen over head and ears in love with the handsome young shoemaker, who was always coming and going about the palace. It has never been a very uncommon thing for a high-born lady to set her heart upon a squire of low degree, so Princess Ursula is not much to be blamed; for she doubtless found Crispin a better-looking young fellow than any of the renowned Romans whom her imperial and imperious sire introduced to her notice. Yet, like a good and sensible girl, she would sometimes reflect on the folly of losing her heart to one who was so much beneath her in station. "Certainly," said she to herself, "most properly is the God of Love painted blind, that thus shoots his arrows at random. And certainly it would look very oddly in the eyes of sober and considerate persons that the only daughter of so great an Emperor should throw herself away upon a mean shoemaker's apprentice." But her heart of hearts was Crispin's. "Oh! that Crispin's birth and quality," she exclaimed, "were but equal to his person; for, in my opinion, there is no Prince on earth equal to him. O Crispin! either thou art not what thou appearest to be; or Nature, in derision of royalty, has made thee a shoemaker." In this confused state the poor Princess continued a long time, and was never at ease night or day, till at last, being nearly worn out with anxiety, she resolved that the next time Crispin came to Court with shoes she should open her mind to him. It so happened at this time that Crispin, who was utterly unconscious of the extreme passion which the Princess had conceived for him, had not been at Court for a much longer period than usual, at which Ursula grew very uneasy. She started up one day all of a sudden, and sent away for her shoemaker, finding great fault with the last pair of shoes he had made her. Crispin promptly appeared, and, hearing what she had to say, begged her pardon, promising that he would do his very best to

please her in the next pair; after which he took his leave. Next day he returned with a new pair of shoes, which were found to fit admirably. In reward, the delighted Princess gave Crispin a handful of gold, saying, "Henceforward let no one make my shoes but yourself!" She then began to open her mind as she had resolved, and the result was a mutual declaration of affection. Crispin revealed his whole story. "My gentle Prince!" exclaimed Ursula, "I always thought those poor habiliments were unworthy of you, and that you must be of far higher rank." The gentle Prince responded—"Your father thirsts for my blood. But let us wait with patience till Providence shall think fit to deliver us from danger. Meantime, let us be privately married, that we may defy our adverse fate." The Princess gave a ready assent; and eventually the ceremony was performed, in the Emperor's Park, by a blind Friar of Crispin's acquaintance, who was rewarded with four pieces of gold. The Princess then returned to her father's palace, and Crispin to his master's shop.

But whilst Crispin's affairs were prospering thus, a great misfortune happened at home. During the time he was absent from Feversham arranging his marriage, a press-gang swept the good town, and carried off Crispianus, and many other proper young men, as soldiers for the wars. When Crispin came home, his master and dame, in great sorrow, told him what had happened, and inquired where he had been, to which he answered with a feigned story, and they congratulated him that his absence had providentially saved him from the impressment. Crispin was exceedingly afflicted for the loss of his brother; but soon after this, his master made him overseer of his whole affairs, in which preferment he gained the love and esteem of the whole family.

Let us now (with the *Princely History*) follow the fortunes of Crispianus. This Prince and many other noble Britons were drafted to the army in France, which had been sent to assist the Gauls against an invasion of the Persians. The General of the Persians was named Iphicrates, a great commander, who, being one day at the head of his troops, Crispianus came forward from the opposite ranks, and defied him in this redoubtable vein—"Thou insulting commander of the Eastern troops—how dare you set your ambitious foot within those territories? What!—do you think that, like Alexander the Great, you are born to conquer the world? Never flatter yourself with such vain imaginations. The Gauls and their friends are not to be disheartened by your numbers. They despise your prince, and are come to convince you of your folly, and with their swords in their hands to let you know that you are not invincible." This bold speech so enraged Iphicrates, that he instantly ordered the trumpets to sound the charge, upon which a most terrible battle ensued, which lasted till night. During the whole fray Crispianus distinguished himself with all the bravery imaginable, which,

being observed by the General of the Gauls, he sent for him, embraced him, demanding of him what was his birth.

"Most noble and worthy General," answered Crispianus, "my birth is not mean; but by trade I am only a shoemaker in England."

"A shoemaker!" exclaimed the French General, "If such bravery and true worth attend shoemakers, I could wish half the people of France were shoemakers. Be assured that I will nobly reward thy just merit."

The next morning the battle was renewed with redoubled fury, both commanders resolved on death or victory, and eventually they encountered each other, and fought hand to hand. Thrice was the Gaul unhorsed by Iphicrates, and thrice was he re-mounted by Crispianus; but the fortune of the enemy prevailed, and the Gaulish leader was taken prisoner. Crispianus flew to the rescue, and, after a desperate struggle, brought off his General in safety. The honours of the day inclined to neither party. Both armies drew off, and, Iphicrates being badly wounded, farther hostilities were suspended till he should be convalescent. In the meantime Iphicrates sent inquiring of the Gaulish General who the knight was that had so nobly rescued him, adding, "If I am so happy as to know him. I will serve him to the utmost of my power." The French General replied that Crispianus was no knight, but only a brave English shoemaker. When this was told to Iphicrates, who was himself the son of a shoemaker, he was so extremely pleased that he declared immediately that, for the regard he had to the valiant Crispianus, he would not only put an end to the war, but forever maintain friendship with the Gauls. This was brave news for the French General. He knighted Crispianus on the spot; and after this there was a solemn feast, at which the two Generals and Crispianus had an interview. The war thus happily ended, the French King wrote a letter of thanks to the Emperor, certifying in a particular manner the worth of the gallant Crispianus.

Meanwhile, the Princess Ursula was informed by her father that he had selected as a husband for her, one of the noblest Romans of them all, and that a certain day was fixed for the nuptials! The royal lady was overwhelmed with dismay; but she despatched a message to Crispin, imploring him to plan and effect her escape from the palace, and provide an asylum for her until better days came round. As may be imagined, the news threw Crispin into a dreadful quandary; for, besides the extreme peril in abducting Ursula from the Palace, where she was jealously watched, there was no roof under the canopy of heaven which he could call his own. In this great strait, and driven to his wits' end, he formed the desperate resolution of making a clean breast to his master and mistress, with the view of inducing them to receive Ursula under their protection. Accordingly, bidding the lady be of good cheer, he left her presence, and very soon broke the affair to "the old folks at home"—both of whom were

thunderstruck "how so great a Princess should come to marry a poor shoemaker." As Crispin was now in for a penny in for a pound, he determined to disclose everything, thinking that an open confession would best ensure favour.

"Master and dame," said he, "since I have begun, I will now let you into another secret, no less surprising than the former. The fate of war and the necessity of the times often make persons of the highest birth submit to very low conditions. The lady Ursula is fully satisfied that, by marrying me, she has married a Prince of equal birth to herself; for, I assure you that, for these five years, you have had two Princes in your household, who have served you faithfully. Our royal father was slain by the Emperor Maximus; our mother lies now in prison; and your house, aided by our disguise, has been the shelter of Crispianus and myself against the fury of the tyrant. But all this must be kept a secret for some time, lest our lives should fall a sacrifice."

This ingenious confession produced the desired effect. The honest shoemaker and his wife at once offered to receive the Princess, and immediately set about concerting with Crispin the best means of bringing her off, without implicating anybody.

"I have a secret stratagem," quoth the good dame, "by which, I think, we may safely bring the Princess out of her father's palace to our house without the knowledge of any person but ourselves. My advice is that, on a certain night, arranged with the Princess, you, Crispin, shall kindle a fire on a point of the coast near some of the beacons, the guard at which will naturally conceive the flame to be the signal of invasion, and thereupon set fire to their own beacons, by means of which the whole country will be alarmed. In the midst of the confusion, when the Emperor hurries off at the head of his troops to repel the invaders, you can steal into the Palace, and conduct the Princess to our house. There will be a thousand surmises, but nobody will know what to conclude."

The dame's project found ready acquiescence; and Crispin embracing the earliest opportunity to make arrangements with the Princess, everything was put in readiness.

On the appointed night Crispin stole to the coast, and kindled a fire on the point of a headland. The blaze arose, shedding a ruddy gleam on the dark weltering sea, and was soon answered by all the beacons within sight. The alarm of invasion spread far and wide. It was thought that Iphicrates, the "insulting commander of the Eastern troops," having trodden under foot the power of Gaul, was leading his hosts to the conquest of Britain. The men of Kent started to their arms. The Emperor buckled on his armour, and, arraying his men "by torch and trumpet," marched off to repel the daring enemy. Squadron after squadron poured down to the coast, the glare of the beacon fires flashing back from countless

helms and spears. The Palace was all but deserted, and Crispin found no difficulty in spiriting away the Princess. But when morning dawned on the troubled shore and the cold grey sea, paling the beacons that yet blazed on the cliffs, what astonishment and confusion seized the anxious hosts to find no trace of an invader! The Emperor was never so puzzled in all his life. And when he marched back to his Palace, greater was his consternation to learn that his fondly-beloved daughter had disappeared like a dream of the night. Search was made in vain. The bereaved tyrant tore his hair, and broke forth into the most bitter lamentations. When the excess of his grief had somewhat subsided, he caused a proclamation to be issued, declaring that, if any one discovered the lost Princess, he should not only receive a princely reward, but, if he were a person of noble blood, he should have the hand of the Princess in marriage.

This was glorious news for Crispin. But at this very nick of time the valiant Crispianus arrived in Britain, and, before proceeding to Court, hastened to the shoemaker's house to enquire for his brother. Doubtless the meeting of the friends was cordial, and we may imagine the surprise of Crispianus to find that his brother had married the Princess. When he had ascertained the relation, he saluted the lady in the most affectionate manner, saying—"I doubt not we shall make a joyful end of a sorrowful beginning. I shall so manage matters that the Emperor shall confirm what is so happily begun, and with the pardon of these lovers grant our mother's liberty." Away he hastened to Court, and delivered the Danish letter, in which his own valorous deeds were so highly extolled. The Emperor received him with the greatest honour, and, after reading the epistle, thus spoke—"Most renowned knight, there is nothing you can ask of me but I shall readily grant, if it be consistent with the honour of a monarch." To which Crispianus made answer, "Then I beseech your Highness to grant me the life and liberty of my mother, the Queen of Logria." The Emperor was astounded to hear this; nevertheless he was a man of his word, and he responded, "I freely grant your request. Be it as you have said." And with that he took a collar of diamonds from his neck, and threw it around Crispianus. At this moment Crispin himself appeared, leading in Ursula, and immediately all was explained, and the Emperor was almost beside himself with joy. Favours and blessings were showered all around, and Crispin's marriage was solemnized anew with every pomp. In due time a son was born to the happy pair; and the Emperor, taking the child in his arms, said—"Now I may affirm that a shoemaker's son is a Prince born; and henceforth let every shoemaker's son bear that title."

With this, the first part of the *Princely History* concludes. The second part deals with the wonderful adventures of another shoemaking worthy, yclept the

Blessed Sir Hugh; but we must make short work of it, notwithstanding that the story is most singular and interesting.

Sir Hugh, or St Hugh (for he is sometimes called by the one title and sometimes by the other), was the only son and heir of the renowned King Powis, an ancient Briton of noble extraction and immortal fame. In early life he fell in love with the Beautiful Winifred, the only daughter of the gallant Donwallo, the last King of Tegner, which is now denominated Flintshire; but the lady being resolved on leading a religious life—in other words, devoting herself as the bride of the Church—rejected all his offers. For a time he hoped that her purpose would alter, but in this he was disappointed; for, on the death of her father, she bade farewell to her princely home, and took up her abode in a secluded valley, far from the busy strife of a vain world. In testimony of her great piety a stream of water issued from the ground beside her humble cell, and was found to possess miraculous virtues, being known to this day as St Winifred's Well. Overwhelmed with grief for the loss of his mistress, Sir Hugh bade farewell to England, and passed through many foreign countries, where he experienced the most extraordinary escapes from wild beasts, savages, shipwreck, &c. Home he came to England, destitute of every earthly comfort. As he wandered about, penniless and starving, a kind-hearted shoemaker took compassion on him, and offered to teach him his trade. Sir Hugh sat himself down to the stall, and soon became a capital workman, so that he made a good deal of money and was able to appear in a style befitting his proper rank. In memory of the many days which he spent with the awl and the last, he composed the following versicles, which he often sung:—

SIR HUGH'S SONG.

A Prince by birth I am indeed,
And who for love forsook this land;
And when I was in extreme need,
I took the Gentle Craft in hand.
And by the Gentle Craft alone,
Long time I lived, being then unknown.

Our shoes we sewed, with merry notes,
With many a pleasant, sugared song,
Like nightingales, from whose sweet throats
Most pleasant songs are nightly sung.
The Gentle Craft is fittest then
For poor distressed gentlemen.

But the memory of his long-lost Winifred being ever uppermost in his soul, he resolved to go in quest of the dear maid. Travelling to her valley in Flintshire, he found that she was no longer there, but was now immured in prison, condemned to death for her religion. Publicly applauding her fidelity, and denouncing her persecutors, he was himself thrown into prison, and condemned to death. During the interval between his trial and execution

he was visited by many of his former associates, the shoemakers, who showed him the greatest kindness, in gratitude for which he bequeathed to them his bones—hence a shoemaker's tools have ever since been known by the name of "the bones of Sir Hugh," and cross-bones are the insignia of his degree in the Order.

We have now exhausted the *Princely History*,—the date of which may be assigned to the early part of the seventeenth century, the era of Richard Johnson, who wrote the *Renowned History of the Seven Champions of Christendom*; but the legends of this class, the adventures of saints changed into heroes of chivalry, existed, under other forms, at periods much more remote; and the author of Crispin and Crispianus must have found the basis of his narrative ready to his hand. Authentic national history, however, invests St Crispin's Day with undying fame; for on that anniversary a memorable victory was achieved on the soil of France by the English arms. The Battle of Agincourt was fought and won by Henry V. and his slender body of forces, on the 25th October, 1415; and no reader can have forgotten the glorious address which Shakespeare puts in the mouth of the King, on the morning of the conflict :

This day is called—the Feast of Crispian :
 He that outlives this day, and comes safe home,
 Will stand a tip-toe when this day is nam'd,
 And rouse him at the name of Crispian.
 He that shall live this day, and see old age,
 Will yearly on the vigil feast his friends,
 And say—to-morrow is Saint Crispian :
 Then will he strip his sleeve and show his scars,
 And say, these wounds I had on Crispin's day.
 Old men forget : yet all shall be forgot,
 But he'll remember, with advantages,
 What feats he did that day : then shall our names,
 Familiar in their mouths as household words—
 Harry the King, Bedford and Exeter,
 Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloster—
 Be in their flowing cups freshly remember'd :
 This story shall the good man teach his son ;
 And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
 From this day to the ending of the world,
 But we in it shall be remembered :
 We few, we happy few, we band of brothers ;
 For he to-day that sheds his blood with me,
 Shall be my brother ; be he ne'er so vile,
 This day shall gentle his condition ;

And gentlemen in England, now a-bed,
 Shall think themselves accurs'd, they were not here,
 And hold their manhoods cheap, while any speaks,
 That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day.

In the sequel we shall endeavour to trace how much the Crispin Order and its pageantry owe to Agincourt and Henry V.

As regards Sir or St Hugh, we fail to discover him in any Calendar of Saints. Several saints of the name are duly entered—Hugh of Cluni, Hugh of Grenoble, Hugh of Lincoln, and one or two others; but none of them are recorded to have had anything to do with shoemaking or shoemakers. We are inclined to suspect that Sir or St Hugh is the *St Euseus*, Hermit and Confessor, of the fourteenth century, who is described as the patron saint of the cobblers, and is represented in old paintings and other works of art with a shoemaker's tools about him as his emblems. The corruption of *Euseus* into *Hugh* affords a very simple explanation.*

* Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, vol. x., p. 487; Dr Husenbeth's *Emblems of Saints*, pp. 42, 60, 266, 268; *Crispin and Crispianus*; Maidment's *Scottish Ballads and Songs*, p. 205.

KING CRISPIN AND HIS ORDER.—Part 2d.

All parades that do walk thro'
To the Shoemakers they must bow;
And by them all it is confest
Of all parades they are the best.

Ballad—"King Crispin's Praise."

IN the end of the month of November following the Battle of Agincourt, the victorious King Henry came home to England, and entered London in triumphal state, passing over London Bridge, on which he was received by the municipality with magnificent pageants in his welcome. The circumstance that Agincourt was won on the feast of St Crispin and Crispinian, and the processions which took place in honour of the event and King Henry, probably led to the transformation of St Crispin into King Crispin, and—as those were the times when all crafts kept anniversary holidays on the feasts of their patron saints—originated the introduction of a royal personage and his attendant train into the annual "parade" of the shoemakers on the 25th October,—a fashion which spread over the kingdom. Only in this way can we account for the regal character which the pageant of the shoemakers assumed both in England and Scotland; and, indeed, it is the theory adopted by the Crispin Lodges. The institution of Crispin Lodges, after the manner of the Freemasons, was an after-movement; but as to when they were formed, we have nothing but conjecture to guide us. What is called "traditional authority," asserts that in the beginning of the sixteenth century, if not earlier, there was a fraternity or "Lodge" of shoemakers in the city of York, which maintained a common fund for the relief of decayed and infirm brethren. A worthy and wealthy son of Crispin belonging to Edinburgh happened to visit York, where he became informed of this charitable provision.

On his return to his native city, he offered a sum of money to form the nucleus of such a fund among his fellow-craftsmen, who gladly accepted it, and procured from James IV. a charter constituting them as a Lodge. At a subsequent time they were also granted the privilege of crowning King Crispin in the Palace of Holyrood—a right which, it is said, the Edinburgh Lodge claims to this day.

As a matter of some interest,—though unconnected with the craft,—it may be noticed here that before the Scottish Reformation the Feast of St Crispin was the day on which the Rector of the University of Glasgow was chosen. “The very last transactions recorded before the Reformation,” says Professor Innes, “show us the University met in full convocation in the Chapter-House of the Cathedral, on its statutory day of the feast of St Crispin and Crispinian (October 25); its four nations electing their “intrants” or procurators; the four intrants electing the Rector of the University and his four deputies—the promoter or procurator and bursar; and members admitted to the University as a defined and distinct body, and according to the ancient constitution and practice.”

An old tradition—for the whole subject, as will be seen, is largely indebted to such questionable sources—would have us believe that the Emperor Charles V. of Germany was descended, on the mother's side, from Inez, the daughter of a shoemaker of Veynos, a town in Portugal. However this was, the Emperor would seem, from another story, to have acquired much favour for the “Gentle Craft:”—

It is said that the Emperor Charles the Fifth, in order to know the sentiments of his meanest subjects respecting his administration, was often in the practice of going about in disguise, and mixing in familiar conversation with whatever society he chanced to meet. One night, when at Brussels, he went into the house of a cobbler, on the pretence of wanting his boots mended. It happened to be King Crispin's holiday, and instead of finding the cobbler inclined for work, he was in the height of jollity, among some other sons of the trade. The Emperor acquainted him with what he wanted, and offered a handsome gratuity. “What, friend?” says the fellow, “Do

you know no better than to ask any of our craft to work on King Crispin's day? Were it Charles the Fifth himself, I would not do a stitch for him now. But if you will come in and drink King Crispin—do, and welcome. We are as merry as the Emperor can be." The Monarch accepted the offer; but, while he was contemplating their rude pleasure, instead of joining in it, the jovial host thus accosted him—"What! I suppose you are some courtier, politician, or other, by that thinking phiz; nay, by your long nose, you may be a relation of the Emperor's; but be you who or what you may, you are heartily welcome. Drink about! Here's Charles the Fifth's health." "Then you love Charles the Fifth?" said the Emperor. "Love him?" cries the son of Crispin, "Ay, ay, —I love his long noseship well enough; but I should love him much more would he but tax us a little less. But what have we to do with politics? Round with the glass, and merry be our hearts!" After a short stay, the Emperor took his leave, thanking the cobbler for his hospitality. "That," cried the latter, "you are very welcome to; but I would not dishonour St Crispin even to work for an Emperor." Next morning the cobbler was summoned to the Imperial Court, and imagine his surprise when he discovered that his late guest was his Sovereign. He was in a terrible fright lest his joke about the long nose should cost him his head. But there was no ground for fear. The Emperor thanked him for his hospitality, and, as a reward for it, bade him ask for what he desired, and to take a whole day, if he choose, to consider of it. The poor cobbler immediately requested that for the future the cobblers of Flanders might bear for their arms a boot with the Imperial crown upon it. The request was granted, and his ambition appearing so very moderate, the Emperor bade him make another request. "If," said the man, "I am to have my utmost wishes, command that for the future the Company of Cobblers shall take place of the Company of Shoemakers." It was accordingly so ordained, and to this day (says the story) there is to be seen a chapel in Brussels adorned with a boot and an Imperial crown surmounting it; and in all public processions the Company of Cobblers take place of the Company of Shoemakers.

In the seventeenth century, the cobblers of Paris held their annual festival on the 1st of August, instead of 25th October, and there is an account of their proceedings in 1641. They first went in a body to church, and afterwards spent the remainder of the day in high revelry.

It is to be noted that "the craft of the shoemaker is the only lowly profession which has attained to the more dignified designation of the *Gentle Craft*." So

says a Crispin writer. This designation, as we said at the outset, has been in use for several centuries, and unquestionably it was so applied three hundred years ago. Greene's satire, *A Quip for an Unstart Courtier*, was published in 1592. The gist of it is "a quaint dispute between Velvet-breeches and Cloth-breeches;" and in the course of the formation of a jury to try the cause, some shoemakers appear, whom Cloth-breeches hails as "You gentle craft, you master-shoemakers," and he afterwards tells them an amusing story, explanatory of the origin of one of their characteristic propensities:—

I remember a merry jest, how Mercury brought you to a dangerous disease, for he requested a boon for you, which fell out to your great disadvantage: and to recreate us here a little, gentle craft, what fell to your trade by that winged god? As it happened on a time that, Jupiter and Mercury travelling together upon earth, Mercury was wonderfully hungry, and had no money in his purse to buy him any food, and at last, to his great comfort, he spied where a company of Tailors were at dinner with buttered peas, eating their peas with their needles' points one by one. Mercury came to them, and asked them his alms: they proudly bade him sit down, and do as he saw they did, and with that delivered him a needle. The poor god, being passing hungry, could not content his maw with eating one by one, but turned the eye of his needle, and ate two or three together; which the Tailors seeing, they start up and said, "What, fellow! a shovel and spade to buttered peas!—hast thou no more manners? Get out of our company!"—and so they sent him packing with many strokes. Mercury coming back, Jupiter demanded of him what news? And he told him how churlishly he was used amongst the Tailors. Well, wandering on further, Mercury espied where a company of Shoemakers were at dinner, with powdered beef and brewis [broth, with bread in it] Going to them, before he could ask them any alms, they said, "Welcome, good fellow!—what, is thy stomach up?—wilt thou do as we do, and taste beef?" Mercury thanked them, and sat down, and ate his bellyful, and drank well of double beer: and when he had done, went home to his master. As soon as he came, Jupiter asked him, what news? And he said, "I have lighted amongst a crew of Shoemakers, the best fellows that ever I met withal. They have frankly fed me without grudging; and, therefore, grant me a boon for them." "Ask what thou wilt, Mercury," quoth he, "and it shall be done." "Why, then," quoth he, "grant that, for this good turn they have done me, they may ever spend a groat afore they can earn twopence." "It shall

be granted," quoth he. Mercury, as soon as Jupiter had said the word, he bethought himself and said, "Nay, but that they may earn a groat afore they spend twopence; for my tongue slipped at the first." "Well, Mercury," quoth he, "it cannot be recalled; the first wish must stand:" and hereof, by Mercury's boon, it grew that all of the gentle craft are such good fellows and spendthrifts.

Again, in 1594 Dekker and Wilson's play of *The Shoemaker's Holiday*; or, *The Gentle Craft*, made its appearance; and in this piece is a song relating to St Hugh (he was a saint at that time), which we shall quote:—

SAINT HUGH!

Cold's the wind, and wet's the rain,
Saint Hugh be our good speed!
Ill is the weather that bringeth no gain,
Nor helps good hearts in need.

Troll the bowl, the jolly nut-brown bowl,
And here kind mate to thee!
Let's sing a dirge for Saint Hugh's soul,
And down it merrily.

Down-a-down, hey, down-a-down,
Hey derry derry down-a-down.
Ho! well done, to me let come,
Ring compass, gentle joy.

Cold's the wind, and wet's the rain,
Saint Hugh be our good speed!
Ill is the weather that bringeth no gain,
Nor helps good hearts in need.

"St Hugh's bones" are the tools of the craft; and an old rhyme, in the *Princely History*, enumerates them under their different names and uses:—

My friends, I pray you, listen to me,
And mark what *St Hugh's Bones* shall be:
First, a Drawer and a Dresser,
Two Wedges, a more and a lesser:
A pretty Block, three inches high,
In fashion squared like a die,
Which shall be called by proper name,
A Heelblock, ah! the very same;
A Handleather and a Thumbleather likewise,
To put on shoe-thread we must devise;
The Needle and the Thimble shall not be left alone,
The Pinchers, and the Awl, and Rubbing Stone;
The Awl, Steel, and Jacks, the Sowing Hairs beside,
The Stirrup holding fast, while we sow the cow-hide;
The Whetstone, the Stopping Stick, and the Paring Knife,
All these do belong to a Journeyman's life:
Our Apron is the shrine to wrap these Bones in,
Thus shroud we *St Hugh's Bones* in a gentle lamb's skin.

To this—as we are turning up old-fashioned scraps about the craft—we may append the following curious lines, which draw a parallel between Translators and Cobblers, from Sir Francis Wortley's *Characters and Elegies*, issued in 1646 :—

Coblers are call'd Translators, so are we,
 (And may be well call'd so) we so agree :
 They rip the Soale first from the upper leather,
 Then steepe, then stretch, then patch all up, together.
 We rip, we steep, we stretch, and take great paines;
 They with their fingers worke, we with our Braines.
 They trade in old shooes, as we doe in feet,
 To make the fancy and the Language meete.
 We make all smooth (as they doe) and take care,
 What is too short, to patch : too large, to pare :
 When they have done, then to the club they goe,
 And spend their gettings, doe we not doe so ?
 Coblers are often poore, yet merrie blades,
 Translators rarely rich, yet cheerful lads.
 Who thinks he wants, he is in plenty poore,
 Give me the Coblers wealth, Ile ask no more.

S.S. Crispin and Crispinian were honoured by the "Gentle Craft" in Perth with an altar, or two-thirds of an altar, in the church of St John. Among the Writs and records of Writs of the Altarages in said Church, now preserved in King James' Hospital, is the foundation of St Duchan, St Crispin, and St Crispinian, or an indenture between the Town of Perth and the Cordiners or Cordwainers, anent St Duchan's altar, dated 26th January, 1496. The shoemakers were designated Cordwainers from the Spanish leather called *Cordovan* in which they wrought; Cordovaning and Cordovaner becoming in common parlance, Cordwaining and Cordwainer. Who St Duchan was we cannot say, as he appears in no calander that we have seen. But a long time elapses after 1496 before we can come upon any traces of the Crispin procession in the Fair City. In fact, we cannot find any mention of it until we descend well down in the eighteenth century; and then the Royal Crispin Lodges were numerous throughout the kingdom. In Perth, the procession was occasionally most imposing. The author of the *Traditions of Perth* describes it as "splendid and numerous," adding that "the first turn out they had in our remembrance was

graced by the presence of the whole of the company of Artillery, which greatly enlivened the scene." Many other towns were graced by the pageantry of King Crispin—not annually, however, but at intervals of years, and generally on great occasions of public rejoicing; as the expense attending the display, in regard to the royal costumes and paraphernalia, suits of armour, &c., was very considerable, and bore heavily on the finances of the Lodges. A procession which took place at Falkirk, in 1796, was so much admired that it was commemorated in a ballad, entitled "*King Crispin's Praise; or, The Praise of the Grand Procession of the Shoemakers in Falkirk, October 25th, 1796,*"—which we now reproduce for the amusement of the reader:—

KING CRISPIN'S PRAISE.

Ye corporations far and near,
Listen while I do declare,
And tell of all this grand procession,
The like was never in this nation.

Chorus.

They make my Muse at humble distance stand,
Being struck with wonder on every hand,
To see them all parade with glee,
With their king and nobles free.

In Falkirk, the procession there
Had not been seen for many a year;
King Crispin honour'd Falkirk town,
That day when first he wore the crown.

Of crimson velvet was his gown,
And from his shoulders it hung down;
Six pages bore his train away,
His sceptre he did likewise sway.

The Indian king on horseback rides,
Two Aid-de-camps with him besides,
With hairy cloths, a show complete,
And wooden sandals on their feet.

It was diverting, and most rare,
To see the Ushers and Lord-Mayor;
Although in stature he was not big,
Ornamented he was with a great wig.

Two coaches to Grangemouth did flee,
And brought the Champion with great glee;
But in one thing he sure did fail,
For him o'er sma' was the coat of mail.

All parades that do walk thro',
 To the shoemakers they must bow ;
 And by them all it is confest,
 Of all parades they are the best.

Now these few lines I do end,
 And hope by this I none offend ;
 Therefore I'll sing it up and down,
 So here's a health to Crispin's crown !

For a long time an extraordinary custom prevailed among the townspeople of Tenby, in England, on St Crispin's Day. They made an image of the saint, and hung it from the church steeple or other elevated point. "In the morning it was formally cut down, and carried in procession throughout the town. In front of the door of each member of the craft the procession halted, when a document, purporting to be the last will and testament of the saint, was read, and in pursuance thereof some article of dress was left as a memento of the noisy visit. At length, when nothing remained to be distributed, the padding which formed the body of the effigy was made into a football, and kicked about by the crowd till they were tired. As a sort of revenge for the treatment of St Crispin, his followers hung up on St Clement's day the effigy of a carpenter, which was treated in a similar way." This is the only instance which we have met with of Crispin being treated with disrespect on his anniversary; but probably it had sprung from some ancient grudge between different crafts of the place.

So far as we can gather, the Crispin processions somehow fell into abeyance during the first twenty years of the present century. About 1822, however, there was a sudden revival. On the 29th of July that year the Cordwainers of Newcastle celebrated the feast of their patron saint, by holding a coronation, and afterwards marching through the town. The proceedings were wound up with a dinner. There had not been a similar exhibition at Newcastle since the year 1789. The St Crispin Lodge of Dunfermline had a grand procession on 29th August, 1823, which included 356 persons. The local historian, Dr Henderson, calls

it "a splendid affair," and says it "was witnessed by at least 8000 spectators." In Perth, King Crispin made one or two public progresses. But the Reform Jubilee of 1832 brought out the Order, in superb style, in most of the principal towns of Scotland. The Perth Lodge strained every nerve, and came forth in gorgeous array; but unfortunately the effect of the spectacle was much marred in consequence of a disagreement among the various bodies who were intended to form one grand procession. The Magistrates wished that the laying of the foundation-stone of the new harbour should be the first duty of the day; but this proposal, reasonable enough in itself, proved the occasion of irreconcilable discord. One section, ardent in their devotion to "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," would not listen to the magisterial programme: and as the latter was insisted on, the result was an unseemly split into two processions. The Crispin Lodge went with the civic rulers; but as the two parties traversed the streets of the town at the same time, though by different routes, great confusion arose at those points where they met and crossed each other (mutually hissing and hooting), and so here and there the stately march of the Crispins was thrown into disorder. After 1832 no Crispin procession was seen in Perth for 31 years; and, indeed, throughout Scotland, during a good portion of that period, the Lodges seemed to have fallen into "the sere and yellow leaf," and King Crispin to have betaken himself to "the tomb of all the Capulets."

Eventually, however, another change came over the brotherhood, and they began energetically to bestir themselves. The Perth Lodge, in particular, was reorganised, and a host of new members were enrolled. At length, it was resolved to revive the glories of the Coronation and the procession. Friday, the 30th October, 1863, became a rare gala-day in the Fair City. The Lodge assembled in the City-Hall, where King Crispin was solemnly crowned, in presence of an overflowing audience; and then his Majesty, with all his court and train, footmen and horsemen—Champion,

Lord Lyon, Prince Royal, Archbishop, Russian Cossack, Highland Chieftain, Indian Prince, Sir Hugh, Crispianus, and the rest—perambulated the streets amid the cheers of thousands of spectators : and the proceedings were concluded by a ball in the evening. Everything passed off with eclat; and it was anticipated that King Crispin's diadem, now that the dust of thirty years had been shaken off it, would shine on many a 25th October to come; but since 1863 it has never again sparkled in the sunbeams on the streets of Perth.

As we understand (not being of the initiated), the Crispin Order consists of three degrees :—1st, *Crispins* proper, who wear a blue sash; 2d, *Knights of St Hugh*, who wear a black sash; and 3d, the *M.O.T.C.*, or *Masters of the Craft*, whose sash is crimson. As to the ritual and mysteries of the Order we can say nothing.*

* Hone's *Every-day Book*, vol. i, p. 1401, vol. ii., p. 1054, and *Year-Book*, p. 893; Innes' *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, p. 223; *The Old Book-Collector's Miscellany*, vol. i. (Greene's "Quip for an Upstart Courtier," p. 55); Bell's *Songs of the Dramatists*, p. 178; Perth Hospitable Records; Penny's *Traditions of Perth*, p. 123; Maidment's *Scottish Ballads and Songs*, p. 202; Chambers's *Book of Days*, vol. i., p. 492; Dr E. Henderson's *Annals of Dunfermline*, p. 614.

OLD SCOTTISH SAINTS HONOURED IN
PERTHSHIRE—Part 1st.

—————To be led
O'er scenes that have been Sanctity's abode
Small's "*Highlands*."

UNDER the above heading we now introduce a series of brief notices of saints commemorated in the old Scottish Kalendar, who were specially honoured in Perthshire. Many of those canonized men and women had churches, chapels, or altars dedicated to them here : many are recorded as having ministered, for seasons, within the county : some died and were buried in it : while bones and relics of others were transferred from other places and enshrined here : and occasionally a saintly association of this kind explains the names of parishes, hamlets, &c., so that the subject altogether forms a curious and interesting chapter of local history. In arranging the notices, we cannot adhere to chronological order, by reason that the eras of various of the saints are unknown or uncertain : and we beg it to be understood that, in recounting miraculous things, we merely repeat the old legends of the hagiographies and breviaries, which were the growth of ages of superstition.

We shall open our Kalendar with the Apostle of the Southern Picts, *St Ninian*, who lived between A.D. 360 and 432, his death being on the 16th September of the latter year. "He was a most reverend bishop and holy man of the Pictish nation, who had been regularly instructed at Rome, in the faith and mysteries of the truth," says Bede ; and at Whitherne, or Candida Casa, in Galloway, he "built a church of stone, which was not usual among the Britons." After his death, his memory, says a modern writer, "had singular reverses. From the fifth to the twelfth century, it was scarcely known beyond the limits of the wild district where he had laboured and died. The only records of

him were in the memory of his people, or written in a barbarous and unknown language. The succession of his See was interrupted. Successive tribes of uncivilised Celts occupied his country, and seemed to have obliterated almost every vestige of his earthly labours. But seven centuries passed, and his memory rose from its obscurity; his power was recognised, his shrine was frequented, and his intercessions sought." People flocked from every quarter to his shrine, at which miracles were supposed to be wrought in the cure of disease. Churches and chapels were dedicated in his honour all over Scotland; and among the rest was a chapel at Alyth. He was assumed, it is said, as the patron of the ancient monastery (or whatever sort of religious house it was) at Dull. A well near that village was called by his name, and was "much frequented at one time," says the *New Statistical Account* of the parish, "by invalids both from far and near, on account of the healing virtues supposed to be communicated to its otherwise salubrious waters, by the abbey's tutelary saint, whose name it bears: but this well's imaginary virtues have long since ceased, and with them its deluded votaries." In Perthshire *Retours* are mentioned the "*Acre S. Niniani in dominio de Coupar,*" and "*Acre S. Niniani nuncupate infra dominium de Kynnowll.*" Moreover, an altar to St Ninian was founded in St John's Church of Perth, on 14th August, 1401, by Robert Brown, burgess of Perth, who gave ten marks annually, or £4 15s 6d, with two booths or shops, in the North (or High) Street, to the chaplain. On the 21st January, 1510-11, Sir Robert Seton, chaplain of St Ninian's altar, resigned in the hands of the Provost and Bailies a tenement on the north side of the North Gate (High Street) formerly paying 20s, now 40s, to said altar: and on the same day, Sasine was granted in favour of said chaplain, of a booth on the north side of the North Gate, proceeding on a decret by the Provost and Bailies, in default of duties payable therefrom to said altar. Sir William Ramsay is mentioned in a charter of 1541, as chaplain of

St Ninian's altar. In the parish church of Kirnroull, near Perth, there was also an altar to St Ninian. On 4th January, 1518-19, John Watson, burgess of Edinburgh, sold to his beloved cousin, Mr James Davidson, chaplain of the altar of St Ninian, within the parish church of St Constantine the Martyr of Kirnroull, a house and garden in Perth. With regard, again, to Alyth, that place is connected with another saint, *Molocus*, Bishop and Confessor, who died 25th June, 592. He is stated to have been a Scot by birth, and brought up by St Brandan. To Molocus was dedicated the old parish church of Alyth : and one of the fairs of the town was known as St Mologue's market, held on the day of Moloc or Molocus. Miraculous works are attributed to him : and his bachul or pastoral staff is in the possession of the Duke of Argyle.

Abernethy can boast of famous female saints. First, we have *St Brigida*, Bridget, or Bride, who has been celebrated as the Mary of Ireland. She died 11th February, 523. She was of Irish birth, and was buried in her native country, though as Boece remarks, "some of the Scots hold that she lies in Abernethy." It is probable that some of her relics were brought across the Channel, and deposited in the religious establishment at Abernethy, of which she became the tutelary saint. She was remarkable for charity from her early days. When sent by her mother to bring home the butter made from their cows' milk, she gave it all to the poor; but the butter was afterwards miraculously replaced. Having dedicated herself to a religious life, "she bare," says Boece, "ane leathern belt over ane white kirtle, with ane veil over her shoulders." She cured many leprous and other diseased persons, cast out devils, gave speech to the dumb, and sight to the blind. She could be vindictive, however, on fit occasion. Once, when a leprous woman refused to give her some apples, Brigida cursed her orchard, and blasted all the fruit. She gave her girdle or belt for the healing of sick folk : it was to be dipped in water, and the water sprinkled over them. She converted

Ninnidius of Mull to the faith, and he became a saint. She predicted to him that from his hand she should receive her last communion; and from that day he wrapped up his hand to keep it pure, whence he was called *Ninnidh Lamhghlan*—"Ninnidius of the clean hand." A well in the parish of Auchtergaven was known by the name of St Bride's Well, and was believed to possess efficacious virtues. A chapel dedicated to her in the country of Athole, was invested with the character and privileges of a sanctuary: and in a former article we told the story of its violation by Angus of the Isles and his clansmen, about the end of the fifteenth century. St Brigida had an altar in St John's Church, Perth. On the 13th January 1523-24, Master James Fenton, Precentor of Dunkeld, founded an altar in honour of St Bridget the Virgin in St Andrew's aisle in the parish church of Perth, and endowed it with the tenement he occupied on the north side of the North Street; an entire booth or shop in the front tenement of Simon Dickson, on the west side of the Castle Gavel Street, near the tenement belonging to the Abbot and Convent of the Monastery of Coupar; and the sum of £7 13s 4d out of certain tenements in the town. But to return to Abernethy. The counter-seal of its ancient college, appended to a deed of 1557, displays "a figure of St Bridget with the nimbus, holding a crozier in her right hand," and "at her feet on the right side is a cow." There was, however, another *Brigida*, who was honoured at Abernethy. She also was of Irish extraction; but she was brought to Scotland by St Columba, and educated at Dunkeld in the house of the Culdees. Another version of her story is that she came to Scotland, along with nine holy maidens, the chief of whom was *Mayota* or *Mazota* (afterwards canonized), and took up with them her residence in Abernethy, where she erected a church to God and the Virgin Mary, in which the Pictish king of the time was baptized. In Abernethy, the second Brigida, Mayota, and their eight sisters lived and died and were laid in their graves. Another tradition of nine holy maidens is to this pur-

pose :—St Donald or Donevaldus, who died about 716, had nine daughters, with whom he dwelt in religious retirement, and after his decease they went to Abernethy, where they closed their days. Traditions about nine maidens occur in other parts of the country.

St Fergus or Fergusianus, Bishop and Confessor, was an Irish saint of great repute; but his era is not fixed. He came to Scotland, and, after many wanderings, settled at Glammis, where he ultimately died. Miracles were wrought there by his bones; and an Abbot of Scone gave a marble receptacle for the relics, but took away with him the head to his own Abbey. The head performed many wondrous cures at Scone. It was in the full blow of its popularity during the reign of James IV., who was at the expense of providing a silver case for it; and on a visit which he paid to Scone, in 1503, he gave “an offering of 14s to St Fergus’ head.” No doubt this relic remained in the Abbey up to the time of the Reformation.

St Patrick, the Patron of Ireland, though a Scot by birth, died on 17th March, 493. He was commemorated at three places in Perthshire. A church was dedicated to him at Strogeith, and another at Blackford. He had also a chapel and a well in the parish of Muthil. The writer of the New Statistical Account of Muthil speaks of “St Patrick’s Well, so named from a chapel once there, probably dedicated to that saint. Part of the foundations of the chapel is still to be seen, and close by these are a few houses lately built, which bear the name of the saint. We know not what connection St Patrick had with this sequestered spot; but it is certain that the inhabitants, until very lately, held his memory in so high veneration, that on his day neither the clap of the mill was heard, nor the plough seen to move in the furrow.”

Dunblane was connected with at least two saints. First in order of time was *St Blane* of Bute, whose date is 10th August, 590. He wrought many miracles. One night when his lamp went out, in the midst of his studies, he struck light with his finger-ends, as with flint

and steel. Another time, the body of a blind boy who had died in wickedness, having been brought to him, he restored the dead to life with one eye, and then in a state of grace. The town of Dunblane was dedicated to the saint. His fame being widely spread, the Lord of Appleby, in England, implored his aid to restore to life his son, Columba. The miracle was successfully performed, and the grateful father granted, it is said, to the church of Dunblane, the lands of Appleby, Congere, Troclyngham, and Malemath, all in Eng'land: and, indeed, some lands in the above manors were latterly held by the See of Dunblane. *Columba*, who had recovered his life by Blane's interposition, devoted himself to the church, wrought many miracles, and was buried in Dunblane, and canonized.

The Monastery or Priory of Inchmahome, in the Lake of Menteith, was probably established in the early part of the twelfth century. It was dedicated to *St Colmoc*, Bishop and Confessor, whose date is 6th June, 500. He is said to have been of Scottish blood, but born in Ireland, and was made Bishop of Dromore. Startling miracles are attributed to him. He brought to life a dead child of the British Queen: he restored a calf which had been eaten up by a wolf, and a young woman who had been devoured by an aquatic monster: he walked on water, turned the course of running streams, and did many other strange things. He is said to have died and been buried at Dromore; but the Breviary of Aberdeen asserts that he was buried in Inchmahome. In a grant by King Robert Bruce, in 1310, the isle is called "*Insula sancti Colmoci*"; and the seal of the Priory bears the inscription, "*S. Commune de insula sancti Colmici.*" Another holy man, *St Berchan* (whom Kilbarchan in Renfrewshire, commemorates) spent half of his days in Scotland, and half in Ireland. While in Scotland, he lived for some time in Inchmahome. He is called Bishop of the Orkeys.

A fair at Logierait, on the 22d of August, called *Faill-ma-choit*—perhaps the "sacred festival of *St*

Machutus,—was once a very considerable market." This Machutus, Bishop and Confessor, was a native Scottish saint, whose date is 15th November, 565. He is supposed to have been the friend and companion of St Brandan. Perhaps Machutus was the *St Machead* whose fair was held at Fortingal on the 9th August.

About Longforgan linger some memories of an Irish saint named *Modwenna*. She is stated to have died on the day that St Columba of Iona was born. She took the religious vows from St Patrick, and was St Brigida's friend. She was head of a company of pious sisters, one of whom eventually had the misfortune to commit a petty theft. Whilst the little band, with Modwenna, were one day on their pilgrimage, they came to a river, which they intended to cross by fording, as it ran quite shallow; but when they reached its banks, it suddenly filled with spate, rolling down turgidly, and defying passage. Modwenna, amazed at this phenomenon, made strict enquiry amongst her company as to their conduct, when one of them confessed that she had stolen a handful of leeks! The theft being confessed and repented of, the river subsided as fast as it had risen, and allowed the sisterhood to wade across. Modwenna laboured long in central Scotland, and founded seven churches, one being at Longforgan, near Dundee. She seems to have made Longforgan her favourite abode. One day when residing there she went up to the breast in a pool of water, and sang the Psalter, but during the task she was strengthened by angels. She lived, it is said, to the extreme old age of 130 years, and, according to some accounts, died at Longforgan, where she had dwelt so long.

There are three saints of the name of Constantine in the Scottish Kalendar, about two of whom there exists much confusion. One was Constantine, a British king, who on the death of his consort was so overwhelmed with grief that he laid aside his royal state, forsook his kingdom, and went to Ireland, where, concealing his rank, he entered a monastery in the capacity of a servant, and was employed for seven years in carrying

corn to the mill of the house. But one day, when he thought he was alone, he thus addressed himself—“Am I Constantine, King of Cornubia, whose head has carried so many helmets, and whose body has worn so many corslets? That I am not.” An unseen listener hearing these words, and straightway reporting them to the convent, the royal porter was forthwith taken and educated by the brethren, and in due time consecrated as a priest. After a long life, he eagerly coveted martyrdom, and to obtain that everlasting crown, he came to the Isle of Kintyre, where the barbarous inhabitants put him to death in the year 578. Another Constantine—some say a Pictish king—is described as Abbot of Rathin, in Ireland. He accompanied St Columba to Scotland, and preached the Gospel to the Picts, built a monastery at Govan, and converted the people of Kintyre, but was subsequently killed by them in 590. As appears to us, the two legends refer to only one person, whether he was British or Pictish. A third Constantine was King of the Scots, and has his place in the Chronicles. In his old age he resigned his throne, became a pilgrim, and next a hermit in a cavern at Fife Ness, and died in 943 in the odour of sanctity. The Parish Church of Kinnoull, near Perth, was dedicated to *St Constantine, the Martyr*.

Several parishes in Perthshire have their names from saints. St Martin's is self-explainable of dedication to *St Martin*: and the old parish of Cambus-michael, with which it is now united, as also the parish of Kirkmichael, bear commemoration of the archangel, or of *St Malachi* or Michael, an Irish saint, who was in Scotland during the time of David I. On the same side of the Tay we have St Madoes, concerning which the New Statistical Account says, “there can be little doubt that the saint after whom it is named was Madoch or Modoch, who is said to have been a Bishop in Scotland in the third or fourth century. The tradition existing in this neighbourhood is, that on coming from France to Scotland, he landed on the banks of the Tay; and that, having made converts to

Christianity, a church was by them built and dedicated to him, where the present church of St Madoes stands, from which, at a subsequent period, the neighbouring district, when erected into a parish, received its name. Whether there be anything of truth in this tradition, we have no means of judging beyond its common reception; but that Madoch, of whom ecclesiastical history makes mention as a Gallic missionary to Scotland in the early times of Christianity, was the person from whom this parish derived its name, is much confirmed by the fact, that there is another parish, also within the bounds of the County of Perth, which, from being the place of his usual residence, or from his being buried there, acknowledges him as the origin of his name: I mean *Kilmadock*, in the Presbytery of Dunblane. The likelihood therefore is, that the name of this parish was originally St Madoch or Madox, which could easily be corrupted into Madois, and that as easily into Madoes." *St Modoc*, here spoken of, is known, says Bishop Forbes, as the "great St Aedan of Ferns, so celebrated in the hagiology of Ireland and Wales." He was born in Ireland in 558, and came of royal blood. "The simple form of his name is Aedh or Hugh; with the honorific prefix it is Moedoc (Modocus, Maidocus, Maidoc, Madock, Madoes, Mogue)." He went to Wales; but there is no account of his ever coming to Scotland. He died in 628. The parish of Kilmadock commemorates him. The Old Statistical Account states that "the ancient monastery of St Madocus, now called Kilmadock, where the late church stood, is quite demolished, and perhaps was pulled down to build the church. To this monastery belonged six chapels within the parish." So much for Kilmadock; but Bishop Forbes is inclined to think that *St Madius* or Madoes, one of the companions of St Boniface, was "probably the saint honoured at St Madoes."

The name of *St Methven* occurs in the Kalendar; wherefore it might be naturally inferred that the parish of Methven was called after him. The orthography of

the term Methven, as applied to the parish, is supposed, according to the New Statistical Account, to have been “derived from the Gaelic word *Meodhan*, signifying *middle*,” and so descriptive of the position of the parish with reference to the Great Strath stretching from Stonehaven to Dumbarton, “near the centre or middle of which strath the parish is situated.” But we should fancy that a derivation from St Methven carries more probability with it than does the far-fetched etymology about the middle of the strath. The same saint was remembered in the adjoining parish of Fowlis-Wester. The New Statistical Account of the latter tells us that “on the margin of the Almond, at the bridge of Buchanty, St Methven, the local and tutelary saint of the parish, had a chapel, which is now demolished.” Farther, “St Methvenmas Market is held at Fowlis annually, on the 6th of November, and is a useful market for the sale of black cattle, and hiring servants. This was anciently the festival of the parish, and the anniversary of the saint to whom the church was dedicated at its consecration, when the people constructed pavilions and booths to indulge in hospitality and mirth, which also became a commercial mart, and assumed the name of *feriæ* or holiday. Many of our most ancient fairs have a similar origin.” Bishop Forbes remarks that the name of St Methven “does not seem to be Celtic, yet Mart. Donegal, Oct. 19, has Ethbinus—Mo-Ethbin would easily make Methven.” Another saintly person, *St Bean*, Bishop and Confessor, concerning whose career nothing is told, is said to have been “venerated at Wester Fowlis, in Strathearn.” A second *St Bean*, whose date is 1012, had a Church at Kinkell, which was granted by Gilbert Earl of Strathearn in his great charter founding the Abbey of Inchaffray. This St Bean was also one of the patrons of Grandtully.

In the foundation charter of Inchaffray was also granted the church of *St Ethirnanus* of Madderty. Ethirnanus was Scottish by birth, and seems to have flourished in the seventh century.

Queen Margaret, consort of King Malcolm Canmore, led a life of gentleness and great piety, and died on 16th November, 1093. She was canonised in 1251. An altar was dedicated to her in St John's Church of Perth, being founded, some time in the fifteenth century, by Andrew de Pitscottie, Laird of Luncarty; and it was renewed by his nephew, Walter de Pitscottie; who also completed the foundation begun by his said uncle of an altar to St Martin the Confessor, in the same church. The stipend of the chaplain of St Margaret's altar was £11 4s 8d, payable out of several tenements in the town of Perth. On the 15th October, 1469, Walter de Pitscottie of Luncarty disposed to Sir James Crichton of Redgorton, knight, his right of patronage of Queen Margaret's altar, in the parish church of Perth, in fee and heritage for ever.*

* Butler's *Lives of the Saints*; Bishop Forbes of Brechin's *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*; Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*; *Lives of the English Saints*: *St Ninian*, p. 3; Jervise's *Land of the Lindsays*, p. 285; *New Statistical Account of Perthshire*. pp. 142 (Methven); 255, 260 (Fowlis-Wester); 313 (Muthil); 607 (St Madoes); 701 (Logierait); 766 (Dull); 1119, 1125 (Alyth); Laing's *Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals*, p. 172; Perth Hospital Records: List of Altarages; Dunbar's *Statistical Account of Kinnoull*; *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xx., p. 89 (Kilmadock).

OLD SCOTTISH SAINTS HONoured IN PERTH-SHIRE.—Part 2d.

No more o'er Scotia's rugged hills and isles
Religion's light is from Iona shed;
And moulder now her old and hoary piles
O'er the low graves, where lie the mighty dead,
And holy men, who wont these scenes to tread.
Small's "Highlands."

THE name of *St Columba* of Iona shines like a star in the early history of Christianity in Scotland. The year 521 saw the birth of this zealous and successful propagator of the faith: and in 563 he and twelve companions set sail from the Irish shore in a frail currach, or boat of wicker covered with hides, and landed at the isle of Iona, where they founded that great religious house, whence the glad tidings of salvation radiated like sunbeams over great part of the mainland. Endowed with natural talents of a high order, *St Columba*, benign, gracious, and indefatigable, devoted his life to the cause of the gospel. Fully versed in the sacred oracles, he continually inculcated the maxim, that they alone were the standard and touchstone of truth: *Prolatis Sacræ Scripturæ testimoniis*—"By proofs brought from the Holy Scriptures" were all questions and controversies to be decided: a rule which of itself forms a broad line of demarcation between the Columban and Roman Churches. No nest of indolent monkery was the monastery of Iona. Its inmates were required to "assemble thrice every night, and as often in the day. In every office of the day they were to use prayers, and sing three psalms. In the offices of the night, from October to February, they were to sing thirty-six psalms and twelve anthems at three several times: through the rest of the year, twenty-one psalms and eight anthems; but on Saturday and Sabbath nights, twenty-five psalms and as many anthems." *Columba*

was much given to study, and to the transcription of the Scriptures and such other books of devotion as Iona possessed : and it is said that he copied with his own hand 300 volumes. He baptised Bridei, King of the Picts, who thereupon erected a church at Dunkeld,—the nucleus of the great establishment of the Culdees. Bridei died in 584. “It is appointed unto men once to die;” but so great was the belief in Columba’s powers, that his biographer, Adamnan, expresses wonder that such an event as the Pictish monarch’s dissolution should have happened at all, because he had a crystal which was blessed by Columba for the healing of all bodily diseases, and which was used by being dipped in water, and the water then given to drink. The precious talisman was kept among the royal treasures; but when sought for on the day that the King died, in his palace on the banks of the Ness, it had disappeared and was never afterwards recovered : and for that reason Bridei succumbed to the stroke of the King of Terrors. Several of the cures said to have been performed by Columba were effected by the sprinkling of water in which a cake or medicament was dissolved, or a stone or crystal dipped. “From this,” observes Dr Smith, of Campbellton, “probably sprung some superstitious practices, not yet quite extinct in the Highlands, where many families have some pebble or crystal (called *leug*), and sprinkle diseased cattle with the water in which it has been immersed :” and he adds the suggestive remark, that “Columba’s medicine is lost, and only the form of administering it is retained.”

Bridei’s successor on the throne was Gartnaidh, son of Domelch, of the nation of the Southern Picts, and his capital appears to have been Abernethy. As he is stated in the old Chronicles to have built the Church of Abernethy, 225 years and 11 months before the Church of Dunkeld was erected by King Constantine, it has been pointed out by Dr Skene that Columba must have had a hand in the work. The Southern Picts, says this learned author, “had been converted early in the previous century by Ninian; and the

Pictish Chronicle attributes the foundation of the church of Abernethy to an early King Nectan, who reigned from 457 to 481; but the Christianity established among them had no permanence, and they gradually fell off, till hardly the semblance of a Christian Church remained. What King Gartnaidh did, therefore, was to found a new monastic church where the earlier church had been, which, like it, was dedicated to St Bridget of Kildare; and this not only took place during Columba's life, but is, in the ancient tract called the *Amra Columcille*, directly attributed to his preaching, for, in alluding to his death it contains this line:—‘For the teacher is not, who used to teach the *tuatha*, or tribes, of Toi;’ and the gloss upon it is, ‘The teacher who used to teach the tribes who were around Tai. It is the name of a river in Alban;’ and again, ‘He subdued the mouths of the fierce who were at Toi with the will of the King,’ which is thus glossed:—‘He subdued the mouths of the fierce with the *Ardrig*, or supreme King of Toi; though it was what they wished—to say evil, so it is a blessing they used to make, *ut fuit Balam*.’ Gartnaidh is here called the supreme King of Toi, or of the Tay, and the people whom Columba taught, the tribes about the Tay, which leaves little doubt that the church of Abernethy on the banks of the Tay, at this time the chief seat of government, had been refounded in connection with his mission to the Southern Picts. In this work, Columba had also the assistance of his friend Cainnech, whose Pictish descent would render his aid more effective.” According to this view, the labours and the fame of Columba are connected with Abernethy. After spending a long life in the service of religion, he died on 9th June, 597, in the 77th year of his age. His last work was a transcription of the Psalter, in which he had progressed to the passage in Psalm xxxiv.:—“They that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing.” There he stopped, and laid aside his pen, feeling the cold hand of Death upon him. “Now,” said he, “I have come to the end of a page, and to a very proper

part for me to stop at; for the following words—‘Come, ye children, hearken unto me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord’—will better suit my successor than me—I will therefore leave it to Baithen to transcribe them.” To the church he went, and the midnight hour had not long passed when he yielded up his breath.

St Moroc, Bishop and Confessor, is said to have been “Abbot of the most ancient Abbey among the Scots, called Dunkeld, or Duncaledonia.” Near Dunkeld, at the Mains of Kilmorick, is *St Muireach’s* well,—the name being another form of *Moroc*. In the parish of Lecropt, the saint was known as *Maworrick*. The church of Laganallachy, in the parish of Little Dunkeld, may refer to *St Aulachy* or *Allocus*. *St Marnan*, or *Marnock* (whose date is 1st March, 625), the patron of *Kilmarnock*, where he was buried, was honoured at *Dalmarnock*, in Little Dunkeld parish, and also at *Fowlis-Easter*, where the church was dedicated to him by *David de Burnham*, on 30th August, 1242. Among the charters of *Scone* is one bestowing upon the Abbey a gift of the “*Capella St Mernoci infra Fossata*”; and another *Scone* deed mentions a tenement called “*Sanct Mernock’s Croft*, with the chapel-yard and chapel of *Sanct Mernock*.”

St John of Dunkeld next awaits us. *John Scot*, a native of the village of *Podock*, in England, came across the *Tweed*, and became Archdeacon of *St Andrews*. He seems to have been a man of eminent abilities and genuine piety; for in 1177, when the See of *St Andrews* fell vacant, the Chapter chose him as Bishop, in preference to *Hugo*, chaplain to *William the Lion*, who had proposed him with all the weight of the royal authority. The result of the election gave great umbrage to the King, who, in his wrath, swore “by the arm of *St James*!”—his customary oath—that “*John Scot*, being a Southron, should never be Bishop of *St Andrews*,” and thereupon banished *John* and all his friends, and compelled the Chapter to elect *Hugo*. The expelled Bishop found his way to *Rome*, and made known his

wrongs to Pope Alexander III., who confirmed his election, and sent him back to Scotland, along with a Nuncio, to enforce his rights. But the Lion-King still held out, and a bitter controversy ensued with the Papal See, lasting for several years. At one time the Pope was so exasperated that he threatened to lay Scotland under an interdict, and was only diverted from this by John's entreaties. Eventually, the Bishop of Dunkeld died, and John was appointed in his room, by the King, with consent of the Pope; and thus the rights of the Crown were fully maintained, and the protracted contention came to an end, leaving Hugo in St Andrews. During his episcopate, John sought the Pope's permission to disjoin the province of Argyle from the Diocese of Dunkeld, of which it had hitherto formed part, and to erect it into a separate Bishopric, because "the people thereof did only speak Irish, and neither understood the Bishop nor he them"; and to this new diocese John desired that his chaplain, Eraldus, who could speak the local tongue, should be chosen. The Pope, Clement III., having read the request, which shewed "how earnest" John "was to be eased of his charge, though to his own temporal loss," observed to those about him:—"It is the study of others to enlarge their bounds and livings, not caring how it goeth with the people; and here is one that requesteth his benefice may be parted into two. O how few bishops are now in the Christian world so disposed!" His holiness accordingly granted the petition, and Eraldus became first Bishop of Argyle. Bishop John, in his old age, retired to the Cistercian Abbey of Newbottle, and there died on 13th July, 1203. He was canonized after his death. The chapel of Kilmaveonaig—*Cille-Eonaig*—in the parish of Blair-Athole, was dedicated to him, where also a fair was called *Feil Espog Eon*—the Fair of Bishop John.

St Rowan, who is said to have lived about 660, was honoured in Monzievaird and Strowan. "Many names in the neighbourhood," says the New Statistical Account, "derive their origin from St Rowan. Thus, *Pol-Ronan*, or the *Pool of St Ronan*, is a deep linn in the

River Earn, about 100 yards above the bridge of Strowan; *Fil-Ronan*, i.e., 'the festival of St Rowan,' is the Gaelic name given to Strowan fair or market, formerly held on the site of the present mansion-house of Strowan, close by the pool above-mentioned. The name Rowan was also given to a spring of fine water adjoining the mansion-house of Strowan, and to a dam-dyke across the river, where the saint had a cruive which supplied him with fish on his fasting days." St Rowan's bell is still preserved. But Strowan in Athole was dedicated to *St Fillan*, and in that district there was an image of him, which when plunged into a pool was supposed to bring rain. The history of St Fillan has already been amply dealt with under a distinct heading: and we have only to add that, according to some good authorities, the Fillan who was commemorated in Upper Strathearn was a different person altogether from the Fillan of Killin and Strathfillan, and lived a century and a-half before him. The earlier Fillan was called Fillan the Leper and the Stammerer, and was descended from a King of Munster. He is called of Ratherran in Alba, which is Dundurn, near the village of St Fillans, in Comrie parish.

The church of Auchterarder was dedicated to *St Kessog*, and was gifted by Gilbert, Earl of Strathearn, to the Abbey of Inchaffray. At Callander was the *Felma-chessaig*—Fair of Kessog: and the hill on which the ancient church stood was called *Tom-ma-chessaig*. St Kessog and *St Angus* have both been previously spoken of in the chapters on Balquhiddy: and *St Servanus* in the chapters on Culross. The church of Servanus at Monzievaird was gifted by Gilbert, Earl of Strathearn, to the Abbey of Inchaffray. *St Brandan* (the second) was an Abbot of Culross Abbey. *St Birinnus* (who gave his name to Kilbirnie) is perhaps remembered in the name of the parish of Dumbarney: or the latter may have been called after the first *St Brandan*, who died in 577. *St Cuthbert*, of the Farne islands, died on 20th March, 687. The monkish legend in *Marmion* will be remembered, that

On a rock, by Lindisfarne,
 Saint Cuthbert sits, and toils to frame
 The sea-born beads that bear his name.

He had the church of Weem dedicated to him. A traditional *St David*, a native hermit saint, has been associated there with a spring-well, a market, a chapel, and a burying-ground. *St Conan*, who died on 26th January, 648, gave his name to Kilconan in Fortingall, and to a Fair in Glenorchy.

St Kentigern, better known as St Mungo, the patron of Glasgow, fills a large space in the history of the Scottish saints. A church was dedicated to him in the parish of Auchterarder. In St John's Church of Perth he had an altar. On 8th November, 1523, Master James Fenton, Precentor of Dunkeld, founded an altar and chaplaincy in honour of St Kentigern in St Andrew's aisle in the parish church of Perth, and endowed the same with a tenement lately purchased by him on the south side of the South Street, and with an annual stipend of £9 6s 8d out of tenements in the town.

St Adamnan, the biographer of St Columba, died on 23d September, 704. The church of Grandtully was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, SS. Andrew, Adamnang and Beanus. An altar was founded in St John's Church of Perth, to *St Admaine*, Confessor. In 1549, a charter was granted by Sir Thomas Gibson, Chaplain of St Admaine the Confessor, to Alexander Hay, merchant burgess of Perth, of that waste land, sometime pertaining to the Charterhouse, lying on the north side of the Southgate, for payment to the said chaplain of an annual rent of 26s 8d, with an irritant clause that, if three terms' payment "rin in ane," the land should fall back to the granter. This Admaine was probably St Adaman or Adamannus, a fasting monk of Coldingham, in the seventh century, who took only two meals a-week.

The Baker trade, in the olden days, seems to have been under the special patronage of half-a-dozen Saints—Wilfred, Hubert, Clement, Cuthbert, Honorius, and

Aubert. The last-named two, St Honorius, who died about 653, and St Aubert, who died about 669, had apparently sometime wrought in the bake-house; for they are each represented in paintings and other works of art with a baker's *peel*.—the long-handled wooden shovel with which bread is placed in the oven: the armorial bearings of the Bakers being three peels. In Dekker's *Wonderful Year* (1603) allusion is made to "the baker's good lord and master, charitable St Clement:" and in Owen's *Unmasking of all Popish Monks* (1628), it is said that "St Clement is for bakers, brewers, and victuallers." The Dundee bakers adopted St Cuthbert. But the bakers of Perth adopted *St Aubert* as their tutelar,—*Obert*, as the name is written in the records. His festival was marked in the Kalendar on 13th December; but the day which they held was the 11th December, on the vigil of which (or evening before), being the 10th, they marched in grotesque procession through the streets of the town, with torches, pipe and drum, a figure personating the foul fiend, and a horse shod with men's shoes! This pageant was called "St Obert's Play." It was probably exhibited annually in the Romish times; and the craftsmen—chiefly, as we may suppose, the journeymen and apprentices—occasionally indulged in it during thirty years after the Reformation, to the great scandal of the ecclesiastical authorities of the city,—a good proof of the extreme difficulty experienced in suppressing the ancient popular pastimes which were denounced as remnants of Romanism. In 1577, "on the 10th of December, which was wont to be called *Sanct Obertis Eve*," says the Rev. James Scott, of Perth, the Bakers "had passed through the town in disguised dresses, with piping and dancing, and striking a drum. They carried in their hands burning torches. One of the actor's was clad in the devil's coat; another rode upon a horse, which went in men's shoes. Probably the horse and its rider represented a part of the legendary history of the saint." The Kirk-session had already fulminated "acts" prohibitory of

such “superstitious practices,” and were highly offended by this flagrant insult to their behests,—the more especially as the *Corpus Christi* play had been publicly performed in the town on the 6th June preceding. At a meeting on 16th December, they enacted that “all those persons that were playing St Obert’s Play the 10th of this month to be warned to the Assembly this day eight days.” The next sederunt, however, was on the 20th December, when “compeared John Fyvie, and confesses that upon the 10th of December instant, which was called St Obert’s Even, he passed through the town striking the drum, which was one of the common drums of the town, accompanied with certain others, such as John Macbeth, William Jack, riding upon an horse going in men’s shoes, and says the said John Macbeth delivered to him the drum: for the whilk premises he submits himself to the discipline of the Kirk, and also promises never to strike ane drum again without the consent of ane magistrate, under such pains as shall be laid to his charge.” At another meeting in January following, “compeared William Jack, and being demanded if he was in St Obert’s Play, he confessed that notwithstanding he was one of the *Corpus Christi* players, for which he submitted himself to the discipline of the Kirk, promising that he would never do the like, yet he confesses that he was in St Obert’s Play.”

The censures of the Kirk did no good; for, the very next year, St Obert’s motely crew, with their torches, and their devil’s coat, and their nag pacing in men’s shoes, paraded the streets as bravely as ever! The indignant Session convened on 15th December, 1578, when “Gilbert Robertson, William Martin, Thomas Rollock, Thomas Jack, John Macbeth, confess that they have transgressed an act made in the assembly of Ministers and Elders, and ratified by the Provost and Bailies, in that superstitiously they passed about the town on St Obert’s Even, disguised, in piping and dancing, and torches bearing, for the whilk they submit themselves to the discipline of the Kirk.”

Two years then glided by without St Obert's merry men frightening "the assembly" from its propriety; but in 1581 they were out again in full fig. The Session met on 25th December that year, when "the Ministers and Elders presently convened, considering the idolatrous pastimes of sundry insolent young men, in playing of St Obert's Play, to the great grief of the conscience of the faithful, and infamous slander of the haill congregation throughout the haill country, have ordained, for present punishment of the same, and such like idolatrous pastime in times coming, that Walter Johnstone, Henry Hall, John Martin, James Ferguson, Robert Ferrier, Andrew Carmichael, Robert Tod, William Mortimer, Patrick Henry, with all the rest, shall be put in ward, therein to remain unreleased until every one of them shall have paid 20s (Scots) to the poor; farther, that they shall put themselves in the seat of repentance, there to remain the Sabbath-day in time of the sermon; attour, that they shall find caution under the pain of £10 (Scots), and doubling of the former punishment, so oft as ever they offend therein, never to do the like in time coming. And if any of the foresaids be not responsible for [unable to pay] the 20s, they shall stand in the irons on the Cross-head two hours on an market day, for that part; and this act to be extended upon all such like superstitious days in times to come without exception." The infliction of these pains and penalties quelled the frolicsome humour of the baker lads, and for five years Obert hid his diminished head; but behold! in 1587, the pageant was shewn once more in all its glory. The Session were close on the heels of the delinquents, — meeting on 11th December, and ordaining "these baxters that on Saturday last at even played St Obert's Play, to be warded, whenever they be apprehended, ay and until they give their obedience for satisfaction of the kirk and congregation." To support the ecclesiastical ordinances, the authority of the Baker Incorporation was now invoked; and early in 1588, the Incorporation, in solemn conclave, enacted that such persons belong-

ing to the craft, as should play, in any time to come, St Obert's Play, should "be debarred from all the liberties of the craft, should never have entry to the same again, and should be banished from the town for ever:" an attested copy of which act was sent to the Session that it might be engrossed in the minutes of that Court. And after this date we hear no more of St Obert being seen on the streets of Perth.

But the Perth bakers, in their enthusiastic devotion to St Aubert, were evidently oblivious of a saint, who belonged to their own town and their own calling, and who shared the usual lot of prophets in being denied at home that honour which was awarded him by strangers. About the year 1201, a holy pilgrim, a murdered man, was buried in the Cathedral of Rochester. His name was William of Perth. In 1226, he was canonized as *St William*, Martyr; and his festival was entered in the Kalendar for 23rd May, the day of his interment. William was a native of Perth, and was brought up to the trade of a baker. When quite a young man, a fervent religious feeling took possession of his soul, manifesting itself in his daily walk and conversation—so much so, indeed, that he went about doing all the good he could, and invariably giving away a tithe or tenth of his loaves to feed the poor. A destitute boy, named Cokermay Dovine, or David, was adopted by him out of charity : and soon William, devoting himself to a life of pilgrimage, departed from the Fair City, clad in pilgrim's weed, and accompanied by the boy as an attendant. The pair journeyed to the south, entered England, and reached Rochester. Thence they were proceeding on to Canterbury, when Dovine, instigated by the devil, suddenly determined to murder his master,—struck him on the back of the head with an axe, and then cut his throat ! The body was carried back to Rochester, where, on its being washed by a mad woman, she straightway recovered her reason — a miracle which established William's fame. A grave was granted to his remains in the Cathedral, and wondrous cures were wrought at his

tomb, to which crowds of people were attracted. "The choir and transepts of the Cathedral are said to have been rebuilt from the offerings at his shrine." The tomb remains to this day—"a plain altar-tomb under a semicircular recess in the wall, still retaining what may have been its original rude diapering," and "stands at the north end of the north choir-transept, between the north-east corner and Bishop Walter de Merton's tomb;" while "there is a passage up the north aisle of the choir, with a flight of steps very much worn by the feet (or knees?) of the pilgrims visiting St William's shrine." Yet, strange to say, the fame of St William of Perth, which was so high at Rochester, seems never to have reached the city of his birth : and the bakers, instead of honouring this brother-craftsman, capered for St Obert with devil's coats and horses going in men's shoes !

With St William of Perth our notices must now come to a conclusion.*

* Dr Smith's *Life of St Columba*; Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 135; Bishop Forbes' *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*; *New Statistical Account of Perthshire*, pp. 290 (Auchterarder), 355 (Callander), 559 (Blair-Athole), 723 (Monzievaird and Strowan), 997 (Dunkeld and Dowally), 1013 (Little Dunkeld); *Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth* (Myln's *Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld*), p. 35; Archbishop Spottiswoode's *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 78, 193; Perth Hospital Records; Scott's *Lives of the Protestant Reformers*, p. 187; Lawson's *Book of Perth*; Dr Husenbeth's *Emblems of Saints*; Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i., p. 361.

A GARLAND OF PERTHSHIRE SONGS.—Part 1st.

The page may be lost, and the pen long forsaken,
And weeds may grow wild o'er the brave heart and
hand;
But ye are still left when all else hath been taken—
Like streams in the desert—sweet songs of our land !

Frances Brown.

To form a Garland of Perthshire Songs, such as may be new, and perchance attractive, to many of our readers, we shall string together a selection of what may be termed localized songs,—that is to say, those which allude to and associate themselves with a distinct locality. Only some of them can boast of a Perthshire parentage: the others belong to strangers. Not but that we could twine more than one fair garland of native growth; but we rather choose to cull a few lyrics, local in the sense above described, and which are probably little known. A song with a local colouring is always peculiarly welcome, or should be so, in the district to which it refers. With various poets the desire to celebrate the charms of the scenes of their early days has been a ruling passion. Burns evinced it with an intensity which did honour to his heart; and he forcibly expresses the feeling in his Epistle to William Simpson, the Ochiltree schoolmaster, when he points out how “auld Coila” had hitherto been neglected by the sons of the Muse. “Nae poet thought her worth his while;” but the ploughman-bard tells his correspondent that by their united efforts they should wipe away the reproach:—

Ramsay an' famous Fergusson
Gied Forth an' Tay a lift aboon;
Yarrow an' Tweed, to monie a tune,
Owre Scotland rings,
While Irwin, Lugar, Ayr, and Doon,
Nae body sings.

* * * * *

But, Willie, set your fit to mine,
An' cock your crest,
We'll gar our streams an' burnies shine
Up wi' the best.

And assuredly Burns did not belie his boast, bear witness the province of his birth ! A collection of songs apportioned amongst the different counties to which their themes pertain would be a curious miscellany. Perthshire would take a prominent place in it, though she would not be solely indebted to her own poetical children. But without making farther exordium, we address ourselves to our pleasant duty.

It is not, we believe, generally known that Robert Nicoll was preceded in Perthshire, at the distance of half-a-century, by a poetical namesake. Sometime before the year 1749, a certain Alexander Nicol, known as a facile writer of verses, became schoolmaster at Collace, and he still pursued the same useful vocation there in 1766, when he gave to the world—

Poems on Several Subjects, both comical and serious. In two parts. By Alexander Nicol, schoolmaster. To which are added *The Experienced Gentleman*, and *the She Anchoret*; written in Cromwell's time, by the then Duchess of Newcastle. Edinburgh: Printed for the Author, and James Stark, bookseller in Dundee; and sold by him and the other booksellers in town and country. Mdcclxvi.

But this was not his first venture before the public. The poetical portion of his volume was an amplified edition of one or two previous publications. We learn from the dedication to Mr Hamilton of Pitcur, that the author was born on that gentleman's estate, his parents being in very poor circumstances. "I never had any education," he says; but his thirst for knowledge prompted him to grapple with the difficulties of his lot, and eventually he qualified himself for the position of a village dominie, displaying, moreover, a strong taste for poetical composition. "The late Lord Gray was the first that took notice of me, upon Monorgan's recommendation:" and "at length the Earl of Morton encouraged me, so that I grew ambitious to appear in public." The volume of 1766 contains 335 closely-printed pages of verse, with other 130 comprehending the reprint of the eccentric Duchess of Newcastle's work; but what induced Nicol to append this singular production he does not explain,—though

we must remember that Charles Lamb found great delight in poring over this literary lady's writings. The first part of the poems includes songs, tales, epistles, &c. : the second is wholly of a religious strain. Having said thus much, we shall quote half of a song which extends to twelve stanzas :—

THE BANKS OF TAY.

The banks of Ayr, and Ettrick banks,
Are sweetly sung among the fair;
The former sure deserve no thanks,
For Ettrick banks first gave the air.
Yet he who sings the banks of Ayr,
Braggs proudly of his ancient braes,
As nothing with them could compare;
But 'Tay's sweet banks deserve the praise.

The rapid river swiftly slides,
With pleasant murmurs, through the groves,
With famous woods on both its sides,
Where swains and nymphs disclose their loves;
With fertile fields and forests fair,
Adorn'd with gowany glens and braes,
That far surpass the banks of Ayr,
And more by far deserve the praise.

Both Dukes and Earls our banks do grace;
Lords ancient, famous of renown :
Here royal Charles, of ancient race,
Receiv'd the sceptre, sword, and crown.
Upon our banks there lives a Lord,
Whose title bears Broadalbion;
And Murrays, noble by renown,
A pillar of the British throne.

The Hays, an ancient warlike race,
Whose feats of arms have often been
With valour shewn in many a place,
In many bloody action seen.
When bold and proud insulting Danes
Thought all our nation was their prey,
One made them leave the Scotian plains,
So valiant was the matchless Hay.

The Drummonds, too, of noble fame.
So honourable, great, and brave,
Alliance to the crown they claim,
Upon our banks a lodging have.
Enclos'd with woods and gardens fair,
That ev'ry month smiles as 'twere May :
Blythe Mary walks with pleasure here,
And beautifies the banks of Tay.

That ancient royal palace, Scone,
Stands on the pleasant banks of Tay;
St Johnstoun, where you'll see the moon
On clockwork increase and decay.

Here trade and manners flourish fair;
 Laws and religion equal sway;
 Nor Irvine's holms, nor banks of Ayr,
 Can vie with our brave banks of Tay.

We shall next see how the same theme was handled by one of the amphibious warriors who helped to maintain the supremacy of the British flag at sea during the long war with Bonaparte. In the *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine and Review* for November, 1810, a song on the Tay appears as the production of "A Sergeant of Marines." Oddly enough, the same piece, with the exception of the fourth stanza, is inserted in Whitelaw's *Book of Scottish Song*: 1845, with a prefatory note giving the author's name as "Robert Carmichael, Lundin Mill, near Largo, Fifeshire," and adding that the piece was "here first printed." For ought we know, the author's name may be correct (though we have a strong suspicion that it is not); but at all events the song was printed in 1810, and we quote it from the *Edinburgh periodical*:—

THE BANKS OF TAY.

By Grampia's tow'ring mountains high,
 Whose rocky summits skirt the sky,
 Wild rolls the queen of Scotia's floods,
 Adorn'd by Atholl's ancient woods,
 Along whose winding walks in spring—
 While flocks of feather'd songsters sing—
 At peep of dawn, how sweet to stray
 Adown the bonny banks of Tay!

There summer's sun, with golden gleams,
 Gilds mountain-tops, the woods, and streams;
 There, chased by his all piercing ray,
 The wreaths of white mist wheel away,
 Disclosing wide romantic scene—
 The woods all cloth'd in foliage green,
 High waving o'er the wild rocks grey,
 Beside the bonny banks of Tay.

Enchanting scenes! how oft in view,
 To fancy's eye, fresh-blooming new;
 My dearest hope's t' enjoy again,
 With those few friends who still remain;
 And friendship's strong and sacred ties,
 And true love's flame that never dies—
 Endearing themes! some distant day,
 To sing along the banks of Tay.

When thund'ring war shall cease to roar
 On haughty Gallia's humbled shore;
 When Britain's great ambitious foe
 Is by her powerful arm laid low;
 When lasting peace shall bless our isle,
 And o'er the cot and palace smile,
 To Scotia's hills I'll bend my way,
 And hail with joy the banks of Tay.

The Scottish poet, Richard Gall, the Edinburgh printer, died in May, 1801, in his 25th year. His effusions are not numerous, but possess high merit; and his "Farewell to Ayrshire," which he sent to the press professedly as the production of Burns, was inserted by Dr Currie in his edition of that poet's works. To one of his songs, Gall has given a Perthshire scene, and, therefore, it claims a place here :—

GLENDOCHART VALE.

As I came through Glendochart vale,
 Whare mists o'ertap the mountains gray,
 A wee bit lassie met my view,
 As cantily she held her way :
 But O sic love each feature bore,
 She made my saul wi' rapture glow !
 An' aye she spake sae kind and sweet,
 I couldna keep my heart in tow.
 O speak na o' your courtly queans !
 My wee bit lassie fools them a' :
 The little cuttie's done me skaith,
 She's stown my thoughtless heart awa'.

Her smile was like the gray-e'd morn,
 Whan spreading on the mountain green;
 Her voice soft as the mavis' sang;
 An' sweet the twinkle o' her een :
 Aboon her brow, sae bonny brent,
 Her raven locks waved o'er her e'e;
 An' ilka sleet bewitching glance
 Conveyed a dart o' love to me.
 O speak na, &c.

The lasses fair in Scotia's isle,
 Their beauties a' what tongue can tell ?
 But o'er the fairest o' them a'
 My wee bit lassie bears the bell.
 O had I never marked her smile,
 Nor seen the twinkle o' her e'e !
 It might na been my lot the day,
 A waefn' lade o' care to dree.
 O speak na, &c.

"The Lass o' Gowrie," by the Baroness Nairne, has been long and deservedly popular. It was admittedly

suggested by the earlier song, "The Gowd o' Gowrie," written by William Reid, one of the partners of Brash & Reid, booksellers, Glasgow, who, between the years 1795 and 1798, issued a series of 8-paged penny numbers under the general title of "Poetry, Original and Selected,"—one of which contained the "Gowd," as "never before published;" but subsequently the title was changed to "Kate o' Gowrie." Perhaps suggested by this piece, another song on Gowrie was printed at Stirling, in the beginning of the present century, by Randall, the well-known publisher of chap-books. The author was a personage of note, styling himself Colonel James Ramsay. It was understood that he was the son of a landed gentleman in Fifeshire; but having gone abroad, he did not return to Scotland till after many years, when he found his father in the grave, and the family seat a mass of fire-blackened ruins. The shock to his mind was so severe that he went distracted, and was some time under confinement. When his mental aberration abated,—though it never wholly left him,—he was permitted to go at large. He had a gentlemanly and inoffensive demeanour. Twice every year he paid a visit to Stirling, where he embodied a regiment of boys, and took much pains and great delight in putting them through the military drill. With all classes in Stirling he was an established favourite. He was well educated, and had a turn for poetry, writing several short pieces. One of his songs was the following :—

THE FLOWER O' GOWRIE.

A wee bit north frae yon green wood,
 Where draps yon sunny show'rie,
 The lofty elms do spread their boughs,
 To shade the braes o' Gowrie.
 And by yon burn, ye scarce can see,
 Where stands a rustic bow'rie,
 There lives a lass more dear to me,
 Than a' the sweets o' Gowrie.

Altho' nae bard e'er sung her praise,—
 Proud Fortune ne'er left dow'rie,—
 The rose blows fairest in the shade,
 So does the Flower o' Gowrie.

Delusive art ne'er gained her charms,
 She barefoot treads the flow'rie,
 Still she is a' that's dear to me,
 The lovely Flower o' Gowrie.

Her modest blush, and downcast eye,
 A flame sent beating through me,
 For she is handsome, neat, and clean,
 The sweetest flower o' Gowrie,
 I've wandered o'er the dewy green,
 Until the evening hourie,
 And press'd and kiss'd her lily hand,
 The bonny lass o' Gowrie.

The bushes that o'erhang yon burn,
 So verdant and so flow'rie,
 Can witness that I love none else
 But her the Flower o' Gowrie.
 Let fops gae court for silk and paint,
 And sigh for fashion flow'rie,
 Gie me that hamely innocent
 Upon the braes o' Gowrie.

Occasionally during the second and third decades of this century, various small poetical brochures by local authors were issued at Perth from the press of Crerar & Son, printers, who were located, as we understand, in the Watergate. The best of these poets was John Sinclair, a bookbinder to trade, belonging to the town, who, in 1818, published a duodecimo of 68 pages with this title :—

Simple Lays: consisting of a few Specimens of Poems & Songs, chiefly in the Scottish dialect. By John Sinclair. Perth: Printed by Crerar and Son. 1818.

In his preface, he thus speaks of his productions. "They are not obtruded as the effusions of superior merit, as breathing aught of that mellifluous harmony which modulates the harp of the heaven-taught bard. . . . Let the son of song stray through the fairy bowers of fancy, his muse soaring to the most sublime heights of Poesy, enchant with the minstrelsy of inspiration: the author of the *Simple Lays* shall be content to cull a few of the wild flowers that so plentifully bestrew the lap of Nature, —a few of those tiny gems which the poet considers as unworthy of his notice." But John's *Lays* were worthy of notice, and he seems to have been pretty well patronised by his brother-

townsmen; for at the end of the little volume is a list of subscribers for upwards of 200 copies,—the names being those of the principal citizens of the time. John's verses display a certain degree of ability, with considerable polish in the style, and indicate that he had closely studied the masters of the art. He was essentially a local poet, drawing his inspiration from the romantic scenes around the Fairy City. Kinnoull was his Mount Parnassus, where he often roamed, "chewing the food of sweet and bitter fancy;" but the Helicon—the beverage which he affected—was, by his own confession, "Five bawbee ale, a favourite drink of the author's." His opening poem, "Kinnoull Hill," is composed in the difficult measure of Montgomery's *Cherry and Slae*; and he depicts with free and vigorous strokes the humours of "Scone Fair," after the model of Burns' "Holy Fair." Of his lyrics we shall now give selections:—

SUMMER GILDS KINNOULL.

Air—*Gloomy Winter.*

Summer gilds Kinnoull's dark steep;
 On Tay's bosom, smooth and deep,
 Westlin' winds scarce seem to creep,
 Or curl the tide sae clearie, O.
 Dewdraps, glistening, gem the flowers;
 Birds, wild warbling, charm the bowers
 Mantling Elcho's hoary towers,
 Now silent, sad, and eerie, O—
 Where, in childhood's cloudless day,
 We fondly wont to sport and play;
 Now, a' joy is flown away,
 And gane wi' thee, my dearie, O.

When meadows glowed in vernal sheen,
 Gowans glinted on the green;
 Harebells bonnily were seen
 Blush on the banks sae briery, O.
 Blythe we wander'd up the howes,
 To the sunny greensward knowes,
 Where the burnie, jouking, rows,
 And murmurs on sae cheery, O.
 Aft we sought the ferny dell,
 Buskit wi' the blae-berry bell,
 That cuist around a fragrant smell,
 And gladden'd thee, my dearie, O.

Where the burnie wimpled clear,
 O'erhung wi' the blooming brier,—
 To my bosom clasped, sae dear—
 Thou never seemed to weary, O.
 Fled are summer's bonny buds,
 Joy is banish'd frae the wuds,
 Sorrows sad, and gloomy cluds
 Roll on sae dark and dreary, O.
 A' the visions fancy drew,
 A' the smiles Hope round me threw,
 A' the peace my bosom knew,
 Hae flown wi' thee, my deary, O.

In descending from the summit of Kinnoull, the poet
 devotes a lay to Bellwood :—

BELLWOOD'S BOWERS.

Sweet eve, O lovely is thy beam !
 That glistens on the bowers so green,
 While magic hues steal o'er the stream,
 And the blue wave reflects the sheen.
 The lark, late singing wild and shrill,
 Amid her young, close nestling, cowers ;
 No blackbird, warbling from the hill,
 Is heard in Bellwood's hallow'd bowers.

Maria, wak'st thou, at this hour,
 Thy tuneful carollings in the grove—
 Sweet as the strains that seraphs pour,
 Sweet as their vision'd notes of love ?
 O ! touch that rapturing strain again :
 Touch it with music's softest powers :
 'Tis sweet to hear love's melting strain
 Echo through Bellwood's hallow'd bowers.

The rosebud, smiling, moist with dew,
 Each bright harmonious tint doth shew ;
 But Nature lovelier colours drew,
 Warm, crims'ning on thy cheek to glow.
 She gifted with a heavenly air
 Thy face, that ne'er o'erclouded lowers,
 And form'd thee more than angel fair,
 To roam through Bellwood's hallow'd bowers.

My charming maid, than life more dear,
 Sole idol of my faithful heart,—
 While thou shalt deign love's smile to wear,
 O nought can ever make us part !
 With thee, fair mistress of my breast,
 While swiftly fly the happy hours,
 I'll wander, feeling more than blest,
 In shady Bellwood's hallow'd bowers.

Contrasting with this is another strain, pitched on
 a humbler key, yet far more natural and effective:—

THE LASS O' CORSIEHILL.

The cloud o'er dark Dinsinnan lowers,
 The mist hangs heavy on its brow,
 The blast soughs, sullen, through the bowers,
 Whaur mavis, shiv'ring, crouches low :
 But soon the moonlicht's lustre keen,
 Shall glint fu' cheery on the rill,
 And guide me to thy bower sae green,
 Thou lovely lass o' Corsiehill.

Awa', thou warld's flattering toy !
 Awa', thou guilefu', glittering gem !
 Ae blink o' love yields purer joy
 Than monarch's golden diadem.
 O, what is a' the gaudy show
 That waits on pamper'd Grandeur's will,
 To heart-felt bliss love can bestow,
 Sweet, lovely lass o' Corsiehill ?

Gear may, betimes, the bosom move ;
 We whiles may hanker after gain ;
 But the sunny smile o' thee, my love,
 Is worth a lordling's wide domain.
 O wert thou, lassie, only mine—
 Wert thou these wistfu' arms to fill,
 We ne'er o'er Fortune should repine,
 Thou lovely lass o' Corsiehill.

Doubtless, Sinclair's songs, in their day, found favour
 in the Fair City ; and, such as they are, they deserve
 to be rescued from the oblivion into which they had
 fallen.

A GARLAND OF PERTSHIRE SONGS.—Part 2d.

—They recall, with dreamy power,
The things remote—removed,
The hamlet, brook, and hawthorn bower,
The lovely and the loved !
We roam again some well-known wildwood,
We list the village chimes,
They charm in age as erst in childhood,
The songs of former times.

John Imlah.

THERE is an old Perthshire song, of unknown authorship, belonging to that class of Scottish minstrelsy which commemorates romantic and tragical incidents possessing no place in history, and which events but for some nameless sons of the Muse would have faded wholly out of remembrance. The graphic power born of simplicity and a fine natural feeling, has ensured to most of those lays the passport to immortality. They have lived on through all changes of social habits and tastes, and will continue to survive, and claim admiration, from age to age. The story of “Bonnie George Campbell” can be identified neither in record nor in tradition: yet we question not the truthfulness of the song, which relates how irremediable woe was brought upon a happy and unsuspecting household: how a scion of the Campbell race, among the Perthshire hills, rode forth gaily, and how the loved ones at home were speedily startled and appalled by the return of his good steed with an empty saddle to the accustomed door, silently telling a tale of sudden feud and slaughter:—

BONNIE GEORGE CAMPBELL.

Hie upon Highlands,
And low upon Tay.
Bonnie George Campbell,
Rade out on a day.
Saddled and bridled
And bootied rade he;
Hame cam’ his gude horse,
But never cam’ he !

Out cam' his auld mither
 Greeting fu' sair,
 And out cam' his bonnie bride
 Rivin' her hair.
 Saddled and bridled
 And booted rade he;
 Toom hame cam' the saddle,
 But never cam' he !

“ My meadow lies green,
 And my corn is unshorn;
 My barn is tō bigg,
 And my babie's unborn.”
 Saddled and bridled
 And booted rade he;
 Toom hame cam' the saddle,
 But never cam' he !

Two of the songs of Andrew Sharpe, the Perth poet, who died in February, 1817, and who lies buried in Kinnoull Kirkyard, attained great popularity—“Corrunna's Lone Shore,” and “The Lass o' Glenshee.” The first gradually lost its hold as the Peninsular struggle receded farther and farther into the past ; but we find it included among the gems of national melody in Whitelaw's *Book of Scottish Song*—a distinction not awarded to the other, which, however, partly keeps its ground as a street ballad to this day, being still a stock-piece in the half-penny broadsides printed at Glasgow. It is not our intention to quote either of these songs, but rather to introduce what may be reckoned as a companion to “The Lass,” in the shape of “The Shepherd of Glenshee,” composed by William Thomson, a native of Kennoway, Fife, who in 1824 became Postmaster of that place, and subsequently contributed various poetical effusions to newspapers and periodicals:—

THE SHEPHERD OF GLENSHEE.

I wander over hill and dale;
 I breathe the healthful mountain gale;
 Far from the city's busy throng,
 I listen to the warbler's song;
 I guide and tend my fleecy flocks,
 Among the muirs, around the rocks;
 And wander unconfined and free,
 By bank and burn amid Glenshee.

While roaming o'er the mountain' side,
 I mark the seasons onward glide;
 See Winter clothe the hills with snow,
 And make the rivers overflow;
 Behold the sunshine and the showers,
 In Spring renew the leafless bowers ;
 And list the hum of busy bee,
 Among the blossoms in Glenshee.

When Summer shines on howm and height,
 And fills the bosom with delight;
 When bloom adorns the sylvan dell,
 And purple heath-flowers deck the fell;
 At gloaming grey, amid the glade,
 I wander with my mountain maid;
 And there is none like her I see,
 The fairest flower in all Glenshee !

I love to mark, begemm'd with dew,
 In shady dell, the violet blue;
 I joy to view the crystal stream
 In morning's cloudless radiance gleam;
 But dearer, sweeter, lovelier far
 Than op'ning rose, or shining star,—
 Than all I know, than all I see,
 The blossom that adorns Glenshee !

Mrs Johnstone, so long and so successfully the editor of *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, has not been known as a poetess, though she was the staunch friend and effectual patron of poets—notably of Robert Nicoll, whom her kind offices introduced to the literary world, and who drew his last breath under her hospitable roof. Yet Mrs Johnstone was not devoid of poetical genius, but could, on occasion, weave her fancies into verse. Her first novel, *Clan Albyn*, was published at Edinburgh in 1815 (the year after *Waverley*); and in this work occurs a beautiful ballad, with a Perthshire theme:—

ATHOL WOOD.

I'm weary o' your ha's, auld lord,
 I'm weary o' your towers,
 The hours of grandeur unendear'd,
 O but they're lanely hours.
 My fingers shine wi' mony a ring,
 An' wi' jewels they deck my hair;
 But the lightsome glance o' leal young love
 Will never bless me mair.

I mind thee still, thou Athol wood,
 And him on Lynedoch lea,
 Wha pu'd my snood frae the scented birk,
 An' my beads frae the reddan tree.
 O merrily sang the bonnie blackbird
 Aboon our hazel screen;
 An' ilka leaf was stirr'd wi' joy,
 An' the blue lift danc'd between.

I mind thee still, thou fairy eve,
 Whan this flichtering heart was tint,
 An' how saft the sang o' the mavis rang,
 Whan he tauld what its flichtering meant.
 A witless bride ye bocht, auld lord,
 An' he didna frown or fret,
 But a breakin' heart was in his e'e,
 An' that look's before me yet!

I'm lanely, lanely a' the day,
 But the nicht is waur to bide,
 For the dream that brings me Athol brae,
 Wauks me by my auld lord's side!
 O! there's mony a leaf in Athol wood,
 And mony a bird in its breast;
 An' mony a pain maun the heart sustain,
 Ere it sab itsel' to rest!

From Athole woods and braes to the hills of Breadalbane is a natural transition; and these hills have been sung by a Perth poet, Alexander MacLagan. He was the son of a farmer who had become a manufacturer, and was born in Bridgend of Perth on 3d April, 1811; but his father and family removed to Edinburgh about 1816. Alexander became a plumber,--and also a poet. When only eighteen, he had the gratification of seeing some of his productions inserted in the *Edinburgh Literary Journal*. Eventually he found a higher sphere than the plumber-shop, and published several volumes of poetry, which were well received. After a lengthened career of usefulness, he died on 20th April, 1879. In his *Sketches from Nature, and other Poems* (Edin.: 1851) is the song which we now extract:—

THE HILLS OF BREADALBANE.

Hurrah, for the Hills of Breadalbane!

Hurrah, for the soul-stirring sight!

Hurrah, for the hopes of the patriot's soul,

When he looks on their beauty and might!

Hurrah, for the lightnings that flash

Their fires on the face of the lake!

Hurrah, for the thunders round lofty Ben Lawers !
 Hurrah, for the music they make !
 Then, here's to the Hills of Breadalbane—
 The snow-clad, the green, and the gray !
 Where the proud eagle mirrors the wings of his might,
 In the bright-beaming breast of Loch Tay !

Sing, hurrah, for the haunts of the deer,
 Down the glens where the wild rivers run !
 Hurrah, for their joy when they leap o'er the hills,
 Like the beams of the morning sun !
 Sing, hurrah, for the fleet-footed roe !
 Hurrah, for the life and the light
 Of their glad glowing eyes, when they break through
 the mist,
 Like stars through the shadows of night !
 Then, here's to the hills, &c.

Turning southward, we pass to the banks of the Earn. Famous Neil Gow, on the death of his patron, the Laird of Abercairny, composed a pathetic "lament," which he dedicated to his memory. To this fine air a song has been written by Thomas Carstairs Latto, a native of Kingsbarns, Fifeshire, where he was born in December, 1818. Having spent some years in connection with the law offices in Edinburgh, Mr Latto started as commission-agent in Glasgow, and afterwards proceeded to the United States. To *Whistlebinkie* he contributed several songs,—one of which was the "Lament for Abercairnie,"—the incident of the piece, however, being purely imaginary :—

LAMENT FOR ABERCAIRNIE.

A mournfu' gloom is owre the earth,
 A' Nature seems in pain,
 An' joins the dolefu', wailin' sang,
 "Gude Abercairnie's gane !"
 Nae children's play was in the glen
 That heard his bugle's swell,
 And night closed on a bloody day
 When Abercairnie fell.

We brought him hame upon his shield,
 His tartans dyed in gore;
 And tears were seen in stern auld e'en,
 Whaur ne'er were tears before.
 His mither and his bride cam' down—
 Ae shudd'ring look they cast—
 Ae wae fu' look—it mair than tauld
 Their day o' joy had pass'd.

O ! for ae saft an' dewy tear
 Of pity, not of ire,
 For mine are bursting frae my e'en,
 Like draps o' scorching fire;
 Or for a blade whose sweep were death,
 And let me face them a',
 The traitors wha ha'e slain my chief—
 But I'll avenge his fa'.

O ! I could lay me down and dee,
 Sin' Abercairn's gane;
 But lang for him the tears shall fa',
 And deep shall be our main.
 Awa' thou pipe that pleased him sae,
 Nae mair thy strains he'll hear—
 Dead now the stormy pibroch falls
 On Abercairn's ear.

Now from Earn's banks to those of the Teith. About thirty years ago, James Macdonald, who belonged to the parish of Fintry, Stirlingshire, was Free Church schoolmaster at Blairgowrie; but failing health caused him to resign that situation, and he died in 1848. He wrote a few lyrics, and among them the following :—

THE WOODS O' CASTLE DOUNE.

Ye bonnie woods o' Castle Doune, ye knowes and fairy
 braes,
 An' a' ye glens an' leafy glades,—the haunt of happy
 days;
 The licht o' heaven disna shine sae sweetly on me now
 As when I saw ye lang lang syne, among the silver dew.
 Ye summer winds that sang sae sweet alang the broomy
 hills,
 Ye wee bit flowers that smiled sae glad beside the dancing
 rills,
 Your sang and smile they canna wile the wrinkles aff my
 brow,
 For a' my greenerie o' life is brown and faded now.
 But yet my e'e can dimly see, amid' its gloamin' hour,
 The shadow of a joyous dream,—the semblance of a
 flower,—
 An' sic a flower as only blessed the bowers of Paradise,
 When Eden lay beneath the ray o' smiling infant skies.
 O softly play, ye breezes play, around that winsome flower,
 And gently fa', ye dew-drops fa' abune her summer bower;
 For ne'er since bonnie Castle Doune was biggit on yon brae,
 Did e'er ye fan a fairer flower than lovely Henney Gray.

Allan water is mainly indebted for its poetic fame to M. G. Lewis, author of *The Monk* and the *Tales of*

Wonder,—although Burns himself did honour to this Perthshire stream. Latterly, the Scottish poet, Robert Gilfillan, who was born at Dunfermline in 1798, and died at Leith in December, 1850, paid a tribute to the Allan :—

THE MAID OF ALLAN.

Fair was the morn an' clear the sky,
On ev'ry flower the dew had fallen,
While I, to join in simmer's joy,
Strayed by the bonnie brig of Allan.
And there, in beauty's artless guise,
A maiden fair did blooming wander,
Pure as the morning light that lies
On Allan's streams o' sunny splendour.

The soft winds breathed amang the woods,
Whaur ne'er a leaf was sered or fallen,
The sun flung gowd adown the clouds,
To please the bonnie maid of Allan.
Sweet bloomed the flowers in simmer bowers,
While birdies, in their leafy dwallin',
Together sang, an' echoes rang
For joy around the maid of Allan.

How sweet the voice of wak'ning Spring,
On bud an' blossom fondly callin',
But Nature lists when she does sing,
For nane sing like the maid of Allan.
I canna boast of Fortune's smile,
For aft her frown has on me fallen,
Yet walth could ne'er my care beguile
Like her, the bonnie maid of Allan.

O ! for a cot by Allan's stream,
Wi' her whose love could banish sorrow,
Then days would glide in blissfu' dream,
Wi' ne'er a dread o' coming morrow.
I've wandered far by burn an' brae,
Through mony a Highland glen an' Lawlan',
But had I her that I wad hae,
'Twould be the bonnie maid of Allan !

We began our garland with the Tay, and with the Tay it shall end. About a century ago a collection of popular songs was published at Perth, and the third edition of the book, dedicated to the Duchess of Athole, appeared in 1783, handsomely printed at the press of the Morisons :—

The Chearful Companion, containing a Select Collection of Favourite Scots and English Songs, Catches, &c., many of which are Originals. Perth: Printed for J. Gillies, Bookseller. Mdcclxxxiii.

No authors' names are given ; but evidently of the "Originals" are several songs, the scenes of which are laid on the banks of Tay : and with one of these pieces (described as "a favourite song") we shall complete our Perthshire Garland :—

THE TAY.

As on Tay's banks I wander'd, in search of my fair,
How smooth was the stream ! and how soft was the air !
To nothing but thee such a scene I compare;
And thee it resembles, dear Jenny.

The deep crystal wave was a type of thy face
(I thought it so clear it might serve for thy glass),
And the curls that were there for thy dimples might pass;
I vow'd 'twas the picture of Jenny.

Methought it took in all the charms of thy mind,
To virtue, to love, and to pity inclin'd,
The tender soft passions that feel no rude wind;
For calm is the bosom of Jenny.

All pleas'd with the prospect, I wish'd the bright maid
Could have seen her dear self in this mirror display'd;
'Twas like her when last the sweet girl I surveyed;
Like none it could be but my Jenny.

But sudden a tempest I ne'er saw before,
Made the billows arise, and the waves foam and roar :
I thought that I scarcely was safe on the shore :
Ah me ! even then it was Jenny.

The same dreadful sight, when to spleen you're inclin'd,
When to me you are cross, and to others are kind :
But never, dear girl, raise the storm in your mind;
'Twill kill me, believe me, dear Jenny.

THE END.

